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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

People's Assembly 8th Session Continues 13 Nov 1
Constitutional Review Commission Created *[ATA]* 1
Nexhmije Hoxha, Others Speak *[ATA]* 1
Session Ends 14 Nov *[Tirana Radio]* 2
Tirana District Workers' Party Views 12th Plenum *[ZERI I POPULLIT 10 Nov]* 3
Trade Agreement Signed With DPRK *[ATA]* 4

BULGARIA

Government Announces 100-Day Economic Reform Plan *[BTA]* 5
Government Press Statement Defends Work Record *[BTA]* 5
Opposition Insisting on Heading New Government *[BTA]* 5
Alternative Socialist Faction Supports Coalition *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Wants SDS To Head Government *[BTA]* 6
Tomov on BSP Meetings; Lilov Does Not Resign *[BTA]* 6
Free Democrats' Forum Demands Banning of BSP *[BTA]* 7
Disclosures on BSP Attempts To Hide Archives *[BTA]* 7
Education Minister Meets Striking Sofia Students *[BTA]* 8
Managers Threaten Strike Over Government Inaction *[BTA]* 8
Citizen Declares Fast To Remove Old Communists *[BTA]* 9
Student Strikes Spread to Over 30 Institutions *[BTA]* 9
Dertliev Speaks at Social Democrat Conference *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Meets Striking Students in Shumen *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Government Liberalizes Agriculture Purchase Prices *[DUMA 9 Nov]* 9
Decrees Adopted on Decentralizing Agriculture *[BTA]* 10
Monopolized Trading Firms To Be Dismantled *[BTA]* 10
Ministers Approve Bills To Eliminate Privileges *[BTA]* 10
Assembly Fails To Amend Citizens' Names Bill *[BTA]* 11
Poll Rates Aleksandur Tomov Most Popular MP *[BTA]* 11
Report on Scope of National Black Market Noted *[BTA]* 12
Intelligence Officer Defector Kostov Pardoned *[BTA]* 12
Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Fault Still Not Corrected *[DUMA 9 Nov]* 12
Reactor Breakdown Blamed for Shortages *[Sofia Radio]* 12
Alleged Radiation Leak Denied *[BTA]* 13
IAEA To Complete Check 23 Nov *[BTA]* 13
Flights To Evacuate Citizens From Iraq Planned *[BTA]* 13
Chemical Troops Commander on Gulf Volunteer Unit *[BTA]* 13
Foreign Minister Gotsev Departs on NATO Visit *[BTA]* 14
Meets With Belgium's Eyskens in Brussels *[BTA]* 14
Planned Meeting With NATO's Woerner Viewed *[Sofia Radio]* 14
Zhelev Departs for Japan; Makes Stop in Moscow *[Sofia Radio]* 15
Meets Research Institute Chief in Tokyo *[BTA]* 15
Discusses Aid With Trade, Industry Minister *[BTA]* 15
Kaifu Pleased With Reforms Under Way *[BTA]* 16
Defense Minister, U.S. Ambassador View Relations *[BTA]* 16
Expert Arrives To Study Ruse-Giurgiu Pollution *[BTA]* 16

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Defense Council Reviews Doctrine, Principles *[Prague Radio]* 17
Pithart Recounts Talks Between Prime Ministers *[Prague Radio]* 17
'Unnamed Source' Denies Calfa's Offer To Resign *[LIDOVE NOVINY 10 Nov]* 18
Calfa's 12 Nov Speech Criticized *[Bratislava Radio]* 18
Political Situation Before Elections Viewed *[LIDOVE NOVINY 3 Nov]* 18
Klaus Blamed for Intergovernmental Rifts *[Cibula in NARODNA OBRODA 10 Nov]* 19
Cabinet Postpones Debate on Federation Bill *[CTK]* 20
Dobrovsky Recommends New Military Doctrines *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 9 Nov]* 20
Official on Serious Budget Situation *[RUDE PRAVO 9 Nov]* 21
Commentary on Inflation, Credit Policy *[Nevaril in HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 5 Nov]* 22
Havel Meets Media Representatives *[Prague Radio]* 23
Sacher Criticizes Situation in New Secret Service *[Bratislava PRAVDA 6 Nov]* 23
Interior Minister Presents New Police Law *[LIDOVE NOVINY 10 Nov]* 23
OF Denies Plans To Discredit People's Party *[LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 10 Nov]* 24
42 Parties Compete in Czech Local Elections *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 9 Nov]* 24
Communist Party District Secretariat Set on Fire *[RUDE PRAVO 5 Nov]* 25
More Than 10,000 Students Jobless *[CTK]* 25
New Newspaper Published in Brno *[PRACE 9 Nov]* 25
Outcome of Slovak Government Crisis Viewed *[Cibula in NARODNA OBRODA 5 Nov]* 25
Meciar on Party Coalition Talks, Republics *[NARODNA OBRODA 5 Nov]* 26
SNS Leadership Critics Set Up Platform *[NARODNA OBRODA 9 Nov]* 27
Christian Democratic Leader on Slovak Nationalism *[NARODNA OBRODA 7 Nov]* 28
Carnogursky Rejects Ties With Slovak Nationalists *[SMENA 6 Nov]* 28
Interview With New Slovak Party Leader Reported *[LIDOVE NOVINY 10 Nov]* 29
Antifascists File Suit Against Stefan Pazdera *[Bratislava PRAVDA 10 Nov]* 29
Charges Against WW II Partisans, Husak Filed *[NARODNA OBRODA 8 Nov]* 30
Slovak Minister Analyzes State of Economy *[VEREJNOST 8 Nov]* 30
Slovak Finance Ministry on Slovak Economy in 1991 *[CTK]* 32
Hungarian Minister's Remarks on Slovakia Criticized *[Rackova in NARODNA OBRODA 10 Nov]* 32
South African Foreign Minister Continues Talks 32
Botha, Dienstbier Renew Contacts *[Prague Radio]* 32
Botha Cites Reasons for Visit *[Johannesburg International]* 32
Foreign Ministry Reports on Hostages in Iraq *[Prague Radio]* 33
Iranian Minister Pays Working Visit 13 Nov 33
Meets Advisors on Oil Supplies *[Bratislava Radio]* 33
Dienstbier, Vaezi Discuss Gulf *[CTK]* 33
Defense Minister on CSFR Officers in Libya *[ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY 6 Nov]* 33
Polish Trade Attache on Decline in Joint Trade *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 8 Nov]* 34
Hungarian, CSFR Bank Chairmen on Financial Matters *[NARODNA OBRODA 5 Nov]* 34

HUNGARY

Nation Will Leave Warsaw Pact by 1991 *[Budapest Radio]* 35
Foreign Affairs Committee on Pact, Soviet Ties *[Budapest Radio]* 35
Progress of Soviet Troop Withdrawal Noted *[Budapest Radio]* 35
Goncz, FRG's Von Weizsaecker Discuss Future *[MTI]* 35
German-Supplied Electric Power Possible *[MTI]* 35
Government Official on Future of CEMA Agreements *[NEPSZABADSAG 7 Nov]* 36
Membership in European Development Bank Proposed *[MTI]* 37
Italian Defense Minister Continues Visit 37
News Conference Reported *[MTI]* 37
Departs 13 Nov *[MTI]* 37
MSZP on International Left-Wing Party Meeting *[MTI]* 38
Foreign Ministry Official on Foreign Policy *[Budapest Radio]* 38
Poszgay Announces Plans To Form New Party *[Budapest Radio]* 39
Interior Minister on Police Activity, Taxi Strike *[NEPSZABADSAG 10 Nov]* 39
Trade Minister Sees Need for Rapid Privatization *[MTI]* 40
Defense Ministry Budget Problems Outlined *[MTI]* 40

POLAND

Leaders Speak at Border Treaty Signing in Warsaw 41
Genscher Calls Treaty 'Fateful Step' *[Warsaw TV]* 41
Skubiszewski Cites 'Peace Order' *[Warsaw TV]* 43
Mazowiecki on 'Symbolic Significance' *[Warsaw TV]* 44
Leaders Hail Significance of Joint FRG Treaty 44
Mazowiecki Notes Importance *[Warsaw Radio]* 44
Skubiszewski Pays Tribute *[Hamburg DPA]* 45
Skubiszewski Praises Mazowiecki *[Warsaw Radio]* 45
Text of German-Polish Border Treaty Published *[Hamburg DPA]* 45
Jaruzelski Receives FRG Foreign Minister 14 Nov *[PAP]* 46
Ministers Continue Talks on Border Issues *[Warsaw TV]* 46
Presidential Candidates Campaign Throughout Nation *[PAP]* 46
Walesa Speaks to 'Solidarity' Activists in Wroclaw *[PAP]* 47
Walesa Adviser Interviewed on Walesa's Policy *[SLOWO POWSZECHNE 12 Nov]* 47
Shipyard Attempts To Hush Walesa Critics *[SZTANDAR MLODYCH 12 Nov]* 48
Mazowiecki's Presidential Bid Examined *[JEDNOSC 8 Nov]* 48
Mazowiecki Election Platform Deemed Populist *[Baczynski in POLITYKA 10 Nov]* 49
Mazowiecki Answers Questions on Election Program *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 8 Nov]* 50
Mazowiecki Meets Ecumenical Council Members *[PAP]* 51

ROMANIA

Iliescu Continues Official Visit to Japan 52
Meets Speaker of House Sakurauki *[ROMPRES]* 52
Confers With Prime Minister Kaifu *[ROMPRES]* 52
Comments on Tokyo Meeting *[Bucharest Radio]* 52
Meets With Turkish President Ozal *[ROMPRES]* 53
Iliescu Sums Up Results of Visit *[ROMPRES]* 54
Roman Receives German Bundestag Delegation *[ROMPRES]* 54
Roman, Pana Meet German Transportation Minister *[ROMPRES]* 55
European Parliament Delegation Continues Visit 55
Current Situation Analyzed *[ROMPRES]* 55
Talks Held With Roman, Others *[ROMPRES]* 56
Nastase Outlines Diplomatic Hopes *[ROMPRES]* 56
Cabinet Members Consulted, Queried *[ROMPRES]* 56
Sibiu Groups Launch Appeal of Support for Moldova *[ROMPRES]* 57
Moldovan Economic Minister on Joint Ties *[ROMPRES]* 57
Solidarity Rally for Bessarabia Held in Bucharest *[ROMPRES]* 57
IMF Supports Government's Reform Program *[ROMPRES]* 57
Three Options for Privatization Discussed *[ROMPRES]* 58
Price Liberalization Continues To Incite Reaction 58
Protest Rally Held in Cismigiu *[Bucharest Radio]* 58
Continued Press Reaction Noted *[ROMPRES]* 58
BBC Apologizes for Erroneous Reporting on Prices *[ROMPRES]* 59
PNT-cd Says Iliescu Responsible for June Events *[ROMANIA LIBERA 6 Nov]* 59
Constanta Railroad Employees Protest Oct Strike *[ROMPRES]* 60
TV Trade Union Protests Station Management *[ROMPRES]* 60
PCR Trial Continues; Defendants Fail To Appear *[ROMPRES]* 60

YUGOSLAVIA

FEC Belittles Federation, Confederation Question *[BORBA 1 Nov]* 61
Belgrade TV Refuses To Relay Markovic Speech *[Belgrade Radio]* 61
Government Condemns Decision *[TANJUG]* 62
Yutel To Carry Speech Live *[TANJUG]* 62
Secretary Comments on Proposed Information Law *[TANJUG]* 62
Mesic on Federation's Future, Croat Ambitions *[VJESNIK 28 Oct]* 62
Loncar on SFRY's Place in Changing Europe *[BORBA 2 Nov]* 63
Possible Loncar Visit to Iraq Still in Doubt *[TANJUG]* 65

Reportage on Foreign Secretary's Mideast Tour *[cross-reference]* 65
Delegation Membership to CSCE Talks Announced *[TANJUG]* 65
Albanians Said Fleeing to Macedonia Almost Daily *[BORBA 31 Oct]* 65
Macedonian Front Protests 'Irregular' Elections *[TANJUG]* 65
Irregularities Said Organized *[TANJUG]* 66
Macedonian National Parties Call For Protests *[Belgrade Radio]* 66
Vote To Be Repeated in 54 Macedonian Regions *[Belgrade Radio]* 67
Mesic Says Albanians in Kosovo Deprived of Rights *[TANJUG]* 67
Kosovo Presidency Meets; Region's Future Viewed *[FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT 11 Nov]* 67
Slovene Demos Proposes Plebiscite on Independence *[Belgrade Radio]* 70
Constitutional Group Discusses Plebiscite *[Ljubljana Radio]* 71
Slovene Defense Official Wants Talks With JNA *[DELO 30 Oct]* 71
Muslim Leader Interviewed on Bosnian Elections *[BORBA 13 Nov]* 72
Bosnian Opposition Threatens To Boycott Elections *[BORBA 13 Nov]* 72

People's Assembly 8th Session Continues 13 Nov

Constitutional Review Commission Created

AU1411130190 Tirana ATA in English 1126 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 14 (ATA)—The People's Assembly adopted on November 13 at the 8th session of the 11th legislature the decision on the creation of the special commission to examine the complements to the current Constitution of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania]. Chairman of this commission is the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Ramiz Alia; secretary is the chairman of the Supreme Court of the PSRA, Kleanthi Koci.

In the composition of the commission there are deputies, government members, outstanding political personalities, personalities of science, art and culture, heroes of socialist labour and other comrades.

Nexhmije Hoxha, Others Speak

AU1411130290 Tirana ATA in English 1129 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 14 (ATA)—Contributions continued on the second day of the People's Assembly. Deputy Llambi Gegprifti said among the other things that in the irreversible process of the further democratization of social relations, the constant democratization of the power organs in general and the highest legislative organ, the People's Assembly in particular, constitutes an important condition to still onward.

The working people of the capital discussed with a feeling of responsibility on the draft-law on elections to the People's Assembly. They attached attention in the first place to the possibilities created by this draft-law to enhance the role of political subjects beginning with the Party of Labour down to the social organizations and other societies recognized by law.

The decision to be adopted regarding the new draft-law on elections together with the decisions of the 12th plenum of the party Central Committee and Comrade Ramiz Alia's important speech, bring to a higher stage the unstoppable process of the democratization, that has only one goal: Albania's progress, Deputy Dritero Agolli said among the other things.

We are carrying out this process with maturity, pondering over it and foreseeing in a conscientious way the horizon it opens to our country. We do not make experiments with this process, because experiments in society are dangerous.

In the process of the democratization of the society which moves and develops as a living being with large proportions, culture, literature, arts, journalism and the whole ideology with its component parts, play a first-rate role particularly regarding the progressive thinking.

In his contribution Deputy Dhimiter Dhora said among the other things that we are carrying out a reform in all the spheres of social activity, which aims at stepping up the economic development of the country and at enhancing freedom and democracy. The decisions and laws are adopting are links which improve a whole system in our country.

The wise and bold orientations Comrade Ramiz Alia forwarded at the 12th plenum of the Central Committee for the status of the political social organizations, including even the party and its relations with the state organs and mass organizations, will give a new impulse to the democratic processes and the role of these organizations in these processes, Deputy Nexhmije Hoxha said among the other things.

Time calls for that the new assembly accelerate the democratic processes initiated by the party and our state, to complete and improve our legislation, to enhance the role and improve its functioning as the highest organ of the state power and legislative and executive organs depending on it.

Facing these demands, we, the social organizations as pluralist subjects with equal election rights, are charged with great duties and responsibilities. People make the laws. Who are the candidates we will propose to the People's Assembly? To this end we will consult seriously with the masses, because the main condition for a deputy is to enjoy the masses' trust, to be known as honest man in life and work, display devotion to the homeland, people and socialism.

The Democratic Front, which in this election campaign appears as a separate subject, independent and equal as the other political-social subjects, feels its responsibility to ensure the active participation of the masses in the broad popular debate to elect the deputies, considering it as an action of great importance for promoting the processes of the democratization of our society. It deems its duty to make known in the public the laws and rights of citizen and man, to help in strengthening the civic education, to influence in implanting the norms of democratic education, so that all the people be used to enter into debate with patience and culture.

The Democratic Front is fully conscious that the strengthening of moral-political situation and unity of the people is today more than ever imperative of time to cope with the new tasks and situations. We consider the defence of the ideals of the freedom and independence, people's power and socialism, that lie in the foundations of the unity of the people closely linked with the efforts to promote the democratic process, the development and consolidation of the new economic mechanism, the strengthening and improvement of the whole political system, she said in conclusion.

In the district of Durres too the draft-law on elections to the People's Assembly was considered as an important legal act which represents and materializes the correct line of the party for the further democratization of the life of the country, that enhances the participation and concern of the masses to run the state affairs, and creates fresh possibilities to further improve the whole political and social system.

Deputy Lumturi Rexha said among the other things in her contribution that the draft-law on the elections to the People's Assembly was considered by women too as a significant document, to put the process of the further deepening of democratization of the life of the country on juridical basis, as an objective and irreversible process.

The draft law puts on juridical basis the participation of political subjects in the electoral field, which is a very important link in the political system of the country. This affords new possibilities to the woman's organization to represent itself directly through its deputies to the supreme state organ, the People's Assembly.

The draft-law on the election of deputies to the People's Assembly, Deputy Pilo Peristeri said among the other things, testifies not only to the level our society has reached in the constant process of its democratization, but aims at further promoting this unstoppable process of the state of our people's democracy, as fundamental condition to enhance as much as possible the participation of our people in running the country.

All the plenums of the party Central Committee of this year aim at enhancing the role of the masses in the political, economic and social life of the country, Deputy Lisen Bashkurti said among the other things. But what raised this role to unprecedented levels in our life is the 12th plenum ,which proclaims the masses' organizations as independent political subjects. Hence it opens a new page to the life of these organizations and in the history of socialist Albania.

For our Labour Youth Union organization the status of the independent political subject is neither fortuitous, nor sudden and imposed by foreign forces.

The People's Assembly represents the supreme organ of the state power, Alije Kalaja said among the other things in her contribution. The new draft-law creates all the conditions that the most devoted men of our society, those who enjoy the respect and confidence of the working masses be their representatives in this high organ.

Deputy Tefta Cami said among the other things that the draft-law affords the possibility that the most devoted men, fighting for progress and further democratization and emancipation of the whole society, be elected to the People's Assembly. They must put their qualities to the benefit of the nation and socialism. This is what the further democratization of the whole life of the country calls for.

The new draft-law on elections, Deputy Sotir Kocollari said among the other things, affords to the Trade Unions organization the right of independent subject to forward candidatures. This right stems from the ever greater role of the Trade Unions in the political-social life of the country in the context of implementing the decisions of the recent plenums of the party Central Committee and particularly of the 12th plenum.

Deputy Fiqiret Myrto said among the other things that the deputy as representative of the people has many rights and obligations, which should not be exercised in the meetings of the People's Assembly alone, but also in all the fields of life, where the interests of his electors merge with.

Our society marches surely on the road of its democratization. To this end contribute also the laws and decrees being discussed by this assembly, Deputy Skender Gjinushi said among the other things.

The atmosphere created in our country made possible the formulation of the new draft-law on elections, which on its part sanctions by law the development of pluralist thinking.

Session Ends 14 Nov

AU1411153490

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1430 GMT on 14 November devotes eight minutes of its regular 30-minute newscast to a report on the opening of the third and final day of the People's Assembly session.

The report states that the 14 November session began with a discussion of the Council of Ministers' report and draft laws on "refining legislation on accountancy, state arbitrage, and the administration, maintenance, and circulation of material goods and money" and the report of the Plan and Budget Commission.

Deputy Liri Laknori praises the new legislation's transfer of authorities in arbitrage to the districts, thus "considering problems as closely to the base as possible."

Foreign Trade Minister Shane Korbeci also speaks on the draft law on arbitrage: "Dwelling on the draft law's special treatment of joint production enterprises, he pointed out that these enterprises have been given full rights, from contract clauses to arbitrage, with a special procedure for the examination of misunderstandings."

The draft laws are reported to have been unanimously approved, and "the deputies also approved the law on the abolition of the Ministry of Communal Economy."

Sihat Tozaj, secretary to the Presidium of the People's Assembly, then presents to the Assembly the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, which were unanimously approved.

People's Assembly Chairman Petro Dode says in his closing speech: "This session has been held at a time when our entire people have become involved in the great work for the further democratization of the country's entire life. Comrade Ramiz Alia's report to the 12th party plenum has created a new situation of mobilization among everybody. This is a broad and valuable program for further strengthening the power of the people and refining the entire political system, which will strengthen and develop democratic processes in our country. At this session, several important laws were examined and approved, involving the strengthening of our sociopolitical system and the new economic mechanism. These laws follow the line of the masses. State and economic bodies are now faced with major tasks in acquainting themselves with and enforcing these laws. They must

work on measures to make it possible for them to become totally subject to the operation of these laws. The People's Assembly's decision to create a commission to study changes and additions to the Constitution is also of great importance. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed in his speech, this study will involve extensive discussion among the people, so the basic law will achieve a total regulation of the important changes of today's developments. The Constitution, with the relevant changes, will be presented for approval to the new Assembly that will be produced by new elections. The measures we are taking for the further democratization of our country constitute a true reform which will influence our homeland's guaranteed progress in all fields. Fulfilling the tasks ahead of us in this period, he said in conclusion, demands the mobilization of all the forces of our society and a strengthening of labor discipline and the struggle against liberalism, bureaucracy, and apathy, under the motto that the progress of our country depends solely on our labor. State and economic bodies must tighten their organization, management, and control, rigorously enforcing the laws of the state." Then the People's Assembly session ends.

Tirana District Workers' Party Views 12th Plenum

AU1411132190 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Nov 90 p 2

[Astrit Nuri report: "Sequence of Work: According to the Problems Which Preoccupy Us"]

[Text] A plenum of the Tirana District Party Committee was held the night before last [8 November]. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss how we will work to assimilate and respond to the documents of the 12th party Central Committee plenum and Comrade Ramiz Alia's very important speech.

At the plenum, many comrades expressed their views on how we can work on these important documents. Comrade Xhelil Gjoni, first secretary of the District Party Committee, suggested to the plenum that—bearing in mind that each party organization has its own characteristics, problems, and concerns—it would be useful for each party organization and social organization to decide itself what it will discuss first, and what it will discuss later. The plenum found this a pertinent suggestion. It was not a matter of a facade of diversity, but of useful and necessary diversity among us all—communists and nonparty members—in confronting and availing ourselves of the materials of the 12th plenum and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia. In some Tirana economic enterprises, for instance, including the "Stalin" Textile Combine, the "Misto Mame" Combine, etc., there are problems of work discipline, etc. Is it not then fairer for the confrontations, elucidations, and analyses to start with this problem? Some other collectives are working with the new economic mechanism. How are they progressing, and what problems do they have? In some central institutions, specialists and scientists have still not joined the debate, and are waiting for others to organize it. Is this not an important problem which should be given priority in working on the plenum's materials? In some other places, there are problems regarding the misinterpretation of religion. Should they not also discuss this, as the party has instructed, with respect for logic and sensitivities? Yet there are also some other very important topics, it was said at the plenum, which require a response from basic party organizations when they deal with the plenum's materials. For instance, are the party organizations in their vanguard role? Are all communists in their vanguard role? If not, should they not draw inspiration and encouragement from the example of the communist miners of Puke, as described a few days ago in ZERI I POPULLIT? Do party organizations duplicate the work of economic bodies, and where has such duplication been detected? What corrections must the basic party organizations now make, which characteristics should they abandon, and which should be shouldered by economic bodies or mass organizations?

Thus, starting from such "spurs" which come from an initial reading and study of the materials of the 12th plenum, a broad range of general and specific topics, to be "dealt with" one by one, comes to everybody's mind. The district Party Committee plenum suggested to the basic organizations that it would be useful to begin with open meetings of the organization which will concretely discuss the leading role of basic party organizations and communists. This is for two reasons: first, because at this time of major tasks, it is necessary to increase the leading role of the party and the example of communists. Second, so that no one will think that the party's leading role will be reduced and its work load will become lighter, as some imagine. On the contrary, its role and work will increase and be intensified.

At this meeting, the plenum debated and decided to create three more large groups at district level composed of comrades from the plenum and qualified cadres and specialists. These will keep track of three important problems stemming from the materials of the 12th plenum. The first group will follow problems which emerge concerning the party's leading role, the second will follow problems which emerge from discussions about religion, and the third, problems related to credits.

The plenum rightly pointed out and instructed that the discussions, explanations, analyses, and meetings should not in any way confine themselves to explanation and persuasion; however, these are very important tasks in which the words and pure and militant spirit of every communist and true patriot should shine. What is very important is that the work of explanation and persuasion should be accompanied daily with effective work in production, the fulfillment of tasks, the undertaking of concrete duties, a successful end to this year, and preparation for 1991. The important instruction issued by the 12th plenum—that explicatory work and achievements should go hand in hand—must be understood immediately and must lead to tangible results.

Trade Agreement Signed With DPRK

AU1411134490 Tirana ATA in English 1258 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Tirana, November 14 (ATA)—The agreement between the government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK] for the exchange of goods and payments for 1991-1995, and the protocol for the exchange of goods and payments for 1991 were signed in Tirana on November 13.

The agreement and the protocol were signed for the Albanian party by Kostandin Hoxha, deputy minister of foreign trade and for the Korean party by Song Hui-ch'ol, deputy minister of foreign trade.

Attending the signing ceremony were the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci; the director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bashkim Dino, and the members of the two delegations. Present was also the ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Kim U-chong.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will export in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea chrome ore, chrome concentrate, copper wires and others, and will import products of ferrous metallurgy, zinc, lead, rice and others.

Over its stay in our country, the delegation was received by the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci.

Government Announces 100-Day Economic Reform Plan

AU1311234190 Sofia BTA in English 2313 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Nov (BTA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers today circulated through the BTA a schedule for the first one hundred days of the government's economic reform program.

The principal idea at this stage is to stop the further disruption of the economy and to reconcile partially supply and demand, to create economic, legal, institutional and monetary prerequisites for a transition to the next stage of the reform.

The schedule covers the period from October 22, 1990 to January 31, 1991.

The schedule lists a revised national budget for 1990, covering the fourth quarter, which has already been submitted to parliament; issue of short-term government bonds; termination of the budget deficit refunding by the Bulgarian National Bank; liberalization of the purchasing prices of the staple farm products; wage indexing for the May-September period; introduction in parliament of a bill amending the economic activity decree.

A number of economic associations dealing in the purchase, trade and processing of farm products and other merchandise, trading in industrial consumer goods and operating in the light industry will be demonopolized.

The government will move for a partial lifting of the moratorium on the sale of state and municipal property to citizens in order to speed up the privatization of small-sized businesses. The cabinet will table bills on taxation, a draft trade law, bills on accountancy and statistics, on cooperatives, on foreign investment, on land sales, amendments to the Labor Code, bills on employment, on a one-time levy of a tax on immovable property exceeding a definite amount.

There are plans to liberalize import regulations and to encourage competition by increasing imports. A panel of Bulgarian and foreign experts will study the condition of major investment projects and their feasibility under the new conditions. A State Property Privatization Agency and a Foreign Investment Promotion Agency will be set up in early January.

A program is being drafted to manage and reschedule the foreign debt in convertible currency in line with the progress of negotiations with the creditor banks and with the signing of agreements with them; partial internal convertibility of the lev will be introduced and an agreement will be signed with the International Monetary Fund and other international lending institutions on a special loan to stabilize the exchange rate.

It is expected to sign agreements with the World Bank on funding projects linked with the economic restructuring, on credits for consultancy and technical assistance for the implementation of the reform in privatization, finances, banking, foreign trade and currency regulations; accords will be signed with the USSR on the maintenance of the economic contacts between the two countries which are vital for Bulgaria.

The schedule lists the launch of programs for small-scale privatization, for agricultural policy and social development of rural areas, for a phased privatization of major components of state property.

The program envisages a number of other specific actions, including an expansion of supply-and-demand pricing of goods and services with no more than 10 percent of prices remaining under state control, a repeal of acts of subordinate legislation which restrict the companies' economic independence and enterprise, export encouragement, etc.

Government Press Statement Defends Work Record

AU1411181190 Sofia BTA in English 1718 GMT 14 Nov 90

["Government Tries To Clear Itself"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)—In connection with the campaign launched in the opposition press accusing the government of "outrageous inactiveness," the Press Centre with the Council of Ministers finds it necessary to remind that since August the government has presented to the National Assembly a package of economic draft laws which are of paramount importance for the reform, including the bill on arable land, the bill on privatization, the bill on banking and credits, the bill on protection of competition. Draft laws related to building up the country's legal system are also waiting their turn. The announcement mentions fifteen bills. As parliament is too slow with its work, few bills have been passed, the Press Centre of the socialist government which was elected by the socialist majority in parliament states.

Opposition Insisting on Heading New Government

AU1211183090 Sofia BTA in English 1632 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)—The opposition sticks to its position that if a new government is formed, it should be chaired by a representative of the opposition and should be dominated by the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS], it was confirmed at the regular UDF briefing today.

The Green Party, the United Democratic Centre, the Radical Democratic Party and the Federation of the Glasnost and Democracy Clubs would like to join the Socialists in a government, the leader of the opposition, Dr. Petur Beron, stated. This morning the Coordinating Council of the UDF discussed whether the ministerial portfolios should go to politicians or experts. The other eleven parties and movements in the UDF (the biggest of them are the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party) do not want to enter a coalition with the Socialists.

Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov has declared several times he wants parliamentary consensus. But he won't have it, Dr. Beron said. There is an understanding that the prime minister will make a statement in parliament after President Zhelyu Zhelev comes back from Japan, i.e. not earlier than Friday. But then things will gain momentum, the UDF leader said.

The United Democratic Centre will move through their national representatives for a vote of confidence in Mr. Lukanov's cabinet, it was announced at the briefing.

The opposition follows the developments in the Socialists' parliamentary group. It sets hopes on the sixteen (at present) Socialists of the National Consensus Group and expects they would give it support.

The UDF leaders blamed Mr. Lukanov's cabinet for its outrageous inactiveness. The opposition convenes a nation-wide rally on Sunday under the motto "No to the outrageous inactiveness of the government, yes to the sweeping reform of the system."

Alternative Socialist Faction Supports Coalition

AU1211213890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] An appeal of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO], a faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, which has been received by the BTA, states that the ASO, as an internal party opposition, calls upon all Socialists to take immediate concrete actions to decisively distance themselves from those who represent the ideological and political remnants of the period of the totalitarian past.

The document points out that Bulgaria needs civil peace, and the only guarantee for this is a coalition government. The sick ambitions for a government of one color are extremely dangerous, the appeal states. According to ASO, its rights in parliament may be compensated with rights in the government.

The document states that BSP parliamentary majority bloc demands supremacy over the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in a coalition government. This would [words indistinct] in the economy and politics.

Wants SDS To Head Government

AU1311082490 Sofia BTA in English 2213 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)—The Alternative Socialist Association (ASA) [ASO] a faction in the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), insists on forming a government dominated by the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS].

For the first time such a demand has been made by members of the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party.

The parliamentary majority of the Socialist Party can be balanced through the opposition's gaining the upper hand in the government. In this way the economic reform will start running, it is said in the declaration of ASA. It was received at the BTA this evening. At the moment the BSP Supreme Council is continuing its plenary session which opened on Friday [9 November] last week. They are discussing changes of cadre, but there is no information as to whether some decisions have already been made.

The intraparty socialist opposition defines this variant a conscious compromise which the BSP should make.

In its declaration the ASA resolutely condemns "those people in the BSP who parasitize on the socialist idea". We have no right to place the future of our party and of the whole nation into the hands of forces which come from an epoch which is already past, the BSP faction states.

Tomov on BSP Meetings; Lilov Does Not Resign

AU1311200690 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Nov (BTA)—No resignation has been offered and accepted, Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), told a news conference today when asked whether the BSP leader, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, had resigned and if so, whether his resignation had been accepted.

Mr. Tomov went on to say, however, that "there is a decision in principle to consolidate or partially renew the Presidium at some of the forthcoming Supreme Council meetings in line with the specific tasks facing the party at this stage."

He also mentioned four or five resignations handed in at the Supreme Council and formulated: "I am ready to resign if the party's renewal requires it," but named no names with the exception of Mr. Stanko Todorov, a veteran BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] functionary, who declared he was resigning his seat as a Socialist Party MP.

Mr. Tomov and his colleagues from the BSP leadership fielded questions about the two marathon meetings of the Supreme Council and the BSP parliamentary faction, the second of which was held today, early in the morning.

Mr. Tomov described the meetings as "an exceedingly useful discussion" at which the whole truth about the problems of the party and the country was said for the first time, as he sees it.

The discussion was set off by a letter from a group of Supreme Council members, including Mr. Tomov, to the BSP Presidium, in which they raised a number of pressing issues concerning the work of the leadership and of the party as a whole in the post-election period. The key assessments contained in the letter were put to the vote. As a result, these assessments were rejected by the Supreme Council by a narrow margin of votes against them.

At the meeting, the Supreme Council considered the activity or inactivity of Mr. Andrey Lukanov's government but did not raise the question of the prime minister's resignation, Mr. Tomov said. By the end of this week the head of government will unveil in parliament his "one hundred days" draft programme specifying the key measures suggested by his cabinet, Mr. Tomov announced. He said that they include demonopolization, price liberalization, a banking reform and other urgent measures which are within the government's powers and so not require new legislation.

Mr. Petur Balabanov MP, a representative of the "National Concord Group" at the news conference, said that his group would vote against the resignation of Mr. Andrey Lukanov's government unless a mutually acceptable alternative is found in the form of some coalition.

In a declaration circulated at the news conference, the Movement for Radical Reform of the BSP says that "once again, the top party leadership is concerned primarily about itself rather than about the party and least of all about the country." The movement calls again on "the people involved in the political decisions which have led society to a comprehensive crisis to retire from the party leadership, and those who have been elected to parliament on multi- member constituency lists to resign their seats."

The radicals see a way out of the situation in the formation of a government with a balanced representation of the political forces, which should go ahead with an economic reform, backed by parliament.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 13 November, in its report on the BSP news conference, adds the following: "Aleksandur Tomov also announced that according to available data, over 50,000 members of the BSP and entire organizations and collectives had switched over to join the Bulgarian Communist Party, and that about 194,000 BSP members are affected by the depoliticization."]

Free Democrats' Forum Demands Banning of BSP

AU1411155890 Sofia BTA in English 1455 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)—The Forum of Free Democrats insists before the public that the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) should be banned. The opinion of the Free Democrats has not been formally presented to the prosecuting magistracy yet.

The forum was founded some months ago by a faction which split from the BSP Alternative Socialist Association (Independent). Its membership is about 4,000 people strong. According to the leadership of the forum, 70 percent of them have never been Communists.

The session of the BSP Supreme Council, which ended yesterday, proved the party of the Socialists is agonizing and its leadership seems to be interested in nothing else but its own survival, Mr. Ivan Kalchev, associate professor and leader of the Free Democrats, said. The process of turning the socialist partocracy into "company-cracy" is growing out of proportion. That is why the Forum of Free Democrats considers that the BSP can be juridically banned—its leadership at the time of totalitarianism and its structure can be qualified as criminal. "Why not adopt a law of decommunization?" Mr. Kalchev stated today before journalists.

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The forum insists on forming a new coalition government which should not include Socialists.

According to the Free Democrats the parliamentary crisis is inevitable.

Disclosures on BSP Attempts To Hide Archives

AU1511145090 Sofia BTA in English 1311 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 15 Nov (BTA)—Today's LITERATUREN FORUM, the daily of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, has devoted two pages to the full text of a verbatim report of the sitting the chiefs of the Archive Departments of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) held on October 20. At the sitting the deputy chairman of the Presidium of the BSP Supreme Council, Dimitur Yonchev, gave instructions for the archives to be concealed and not delivered to the state archives where, according to him and the participants in the sitting, they would get into the hands of the opposition "and that is just what they are waiting for," he said.

The news raised hell at the Grand National Assembly two weeks ago when an opposition MP read excerpts from the verbatim report. Three days later the deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, Aleksandur Tomov, denied that the BSP was trying to destroy its archives. In the meantime it became known that the director of the central BSP archives had resigned because his opinion on the matter was different from that of Mr. Yonchev.

In the last 42 years the state bodies have been unable to bring under their control the central BSP archives which are kept as secret documents and documents of exclusive national importance.

Since the first disclosures Mr. Yonchev, who until that time was known to be one of the most avowed reform-minded leaders in the BSP, has not appeared neither in parliament, nor on radio or television. "Yonchev proved to be a great fool," an editor of the socialist DUMA paper said in a private talk.

The verbatim report of the October 20 sitting shows that the leadership of the former Communist Party is panic-stricken. "The opposition is too willing to nationalize us.

They'll do it the moment they win parliamentary majority.... They keep publishing materials about the nationalization in Czechoslovakia and Hungary every day, they are too eager to throw us out in the junk yard of history," Yonchev said at the sitting.

He reported that the members of the BSP were became fewer and fewer and its receipts had dropped almost ten times. He stated that the BSP-controlled editions had extremely serious financial problems. "We are in the situation of people who have got to fight for their survival in extremely difficult conditions," Mr. Yonchev said.

From the speeches made by the participants in the sitting it becomes clear that the former Communists "are very vulnerable in case the records of the party members come to light." "We have information of paramount importance and we are very vulnerable if the personal files of the active fighters against fascism and capitalism are opened," a BSP activist from the town of Turgovishte said.

"If we have to, we will keep only one out of 100 archive units for the sake of our survival, we must not give in," Mr. Yonchev said in response, thus giving obvious instructions to destroy all discrediting archives.

From the verbatim report it becomes clear that now the BSP relies on the loyalty of not-on-the-pay-roll people in the party who were "checked" and found devoted. They are engaged in economic activity to the benefit of the party: establishing contacts with Western companies, concluding export and import deals. "We work, our companies work and, thanks goodness, we have not been defeated yet, our property is not nationalized," the deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council said.

Today's DEMOKRATSIYA also carries extensive excerpts from the verbatim report.

Education Minister Meets Striking Sofia Students

AU1211194490 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)—The sit-in students' strike in Sofia and the other university centres is going on. The students are making ultimatum demands on the Socialist Party and the one-party Socialist government.

Last week the students of the Federation of Independent Student Societies rejected the sit-in strike as a form of expressing protest, although at the same time they demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Lukanov, but the sit-in strike has not been called off.

The students did not accept President Zhelev's position that the strike should be called off.

The Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] declared itself to be against the sit-in strike. But both the president and the UDF back up the students' political and syndical demands.

The rector of the Technical University in Sofia has warned his students that if things do not come back to normal, they will be kept a year.

Today the minister of science and higher education, Prof. Iliya Konev, had a meeting with the strikers at Sofia University and the University Rectorship. Minister Konev spoke against the sit-in strike, but in his opinion to cancel the university year would be imprudent. He insists on negotiating with the students. He is convinced that they have no exact information as to what has been already been achieved with regard to their hostels, scholarships and other everyday problems.

The university leadership declared they support the students' demands and insist that the competent authorities should urgently consider them. But the leadership is against the sit-in strike: It costs Sofia University a loss of 120 to 150 thousand leva every day and undermines the prestige of the university, two of the rector's deputies said.

The students did not yield even after today's meeting. Representatives of the strike committee stated that today's talks were formal. Nevertheless they accepted Minister Konev's invitation to continue the talks.

Last week the students did not go out of the university building even when a report was made (it proved to be false) that there was a bomb there. Early this morning the alarm system in the Financial Department went off. The police did not find any evidence of the strong room having been broken in. This morning the police were called by the students once more. They established that somebody had pulled the circuit-breaker of the panel and that some telephone wires had been cut. The case is under investigation.

The strike committee of Sofia University disagrees with the stand of the prosecuting magistracy who said that the students' strike is a breach of administrative law. The provisions contained in the law concern only meetings held "in the open air," therefore the students' strike is not a breach of the law, it is said in a declaration.

In the meantime it became known that at the Blue Sky European Student Conference in Fribourg, Switzerland, the participants adopted a declaration expressing moral support and solidarity with the Bulgarian students "who went on strike for the sake of changes and reforms along the difficult path to democracy." The document was signed by students and students organizations of 13 countries.

Managers Threaten Strike Over Government Inaction

AU1311082690 Sofia BTA in English 2209 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)—The Union of Economic Managers declares that the managers will go on strike and will not pay taxes if the Bulgarian parliament and the government do not start working more actively by December 10.

The managers want new laws, a new labor code and economic program. They insist on forming a competent and courageous cabinet of professionals supported by the political forces which will be able to make the decisions, instead of shifting its responsibility to parliament.

The Union of Economic Managers practically has 97 percent of Bulgaria's economy under its control. It was set up at the beginning of this year and is 12,500 people strong. In the summer it approved the demands of the two biggest trade unions which demanded urgent measures for overcoming the crisis. The union is a party to the general agreement concluded by the government and the trade unions and took part in the negotiations on indexing incomes.

The Union of Economic Managers stands for privatization, but insists that everybody should be given equal opportunities.

The managers insist that Bulgaria should clarify her relations with the countries of the disintegrating Council for Mutual Economic Assistance the soonest possible.

Citizen Declares Fast To Remove Old Communists

AU1411181790 Sofia BTA in English 1714 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)—"I am going on a hunger strike, starting on November 15, and I will call it off when the national representatives who were formerly members of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] CC [Central Committee] Politburo, the State Council and of the previous National Assembly are infamously driven away from parliament," Vasil Ivanov Yotsov writes in a declaration addressed to the Grand National Assembly.

Student Strikes Spread to Over 30 Institutions

AU1411223890 Sofia BTA in English 1903 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)—The students in Blagoevgrad today made demands for confiscation of the property of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and banning the party, for putting culprits for the catastrophe in the country to trial and for the resignation of the socialist government.

The students in yet another five universities in the provinces have gone on strike. Their demands are syndical and political and the forms of their protest are different. After the sit-in strike declared 10 days ago at the University of Sofia, the wave of protest has spread over thirty higher education establishments in the country.

Dertliev Speaks at Social Democrat Conference

AU1011203490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Text] After a wreath-laying ceremony at the memorial plaque to Yanko Sakuzov, the father of the Bulgarian Social Democratic movement, the second working conference of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party [BSDP] opened today in Shumen.

A letter was read from the party's honorary president, Dr. Atanas Moskov, which offered good wishes for the conference's fruitful work, bringing benefit to the nation.

Mikhail Petkov, deputy chairman of the BSDP, spoke about party's role and tasks in the conditions of the burgeoning democracy in Bulgaria. He delivered a brief accountability report, dealing with the difficulties encountered during the period of almost 12 months since the restoration of the party.

Dr. Petur Dertliev, BSDP chairman, delivered a lengthy speech. In his view, the party led by him should hold a leading place in political life. He stressed that the BSDP sharply dissociates itself from both the Bulgarian Socialist Party and certain parties included in the Union of Democratic Forces. The leader emphasized that the main strategic goal is the prosperity and social security of Bulgarian citizens.

The main task of the conference is to prepare for the forthcoming BSDP congress.

The conference is continuing its work.

Meets Striking Students in Shumen

AU1111145290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Text] During one of the recesses of the Second National Conference of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party in Shumen Dr. Petur Dertliev met with the Strike Committee of the students and faculty of Shumen's Konstantin Preslavski University.

After discussing the motives of the protest action Dr. Dertliev, on behalf of his party, noted that it is possible to satisfy's the students' political demands within the framework of the law.

An agreement has been reached with the Podkrepa Labor Confederation on protecting the students' trade union interests.

Government Liberalizes Agriculture Purchase Prices

AU1311142590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Council of Ministers has adopted a decree creating additional conditions for setting the purchase prices for the main agricultural products on a market basis. This is a big step in the transition to a market economy in agriculture. The purchase prices for the main agricultural products are to be fixed and negotiated according to supply and demand. This is necessary because of the real market conditions, increasing shortages, speculation, and violations of the levels and correlations in the purchase prices for agricultural products.

The liberalization of purchase prices creates conditions for increasing the production by public and private farms of grain, meat, milk, eggs, and other agricultural products.

Until a total transition to setting the prices for consumer goods on a market basis occurs, and until the system for compensating the rise in the population's living costs is approved, the differences between the average levels of the previous fixed or minimum prices and those of the new negotiated purchase prices are to be paid out of the state budget.

The average increase in purchase price per tonne of the individual products to be paid for from the budget, depending on the varieties, breeds, and quality, are as follows: for wheat and barley, 350 leva; for corn, 300 leva; for one tonne of meat of the following kinds, live weight: from calves and buffalo calves, 1,900 leva; for beef and buffalo meat from adult animals, 950 leva; for lamb and young goat meat, 1,100 leva; for mutton and goat meat, 800 leva; for pork, 1,700 leva; for broiler chickens, 2,000 leva; for one tonne of unwashed wool, 1,000 leva; for 1,000 liters of cow's and goat's milk, 250 leva; for 1,000 liters of sheep's milk, 300 leva; and for 1,000 eggs, 65 leva.

At the same time, the supplements to the purchase prices paid until now for grain sold and animal products produced in unfavorable conditions, mainly in mountainous and upland areas, are preserved.

Decrees Adopted on Decentralizing Agriculture

AU1311201490 Sofia BTA in English 1902 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Nov (BTA)—The government has adopted decrees decentralizing and demonopolizing purchasing, processing and servicing work in agriculture, the food industry and distributive trade.

Under the decrees, economic corporations in the food industry, the farming services sector and trade will be closed down. Their subsidiaries and constituent businesses will be converted into companies which will be granted a large measure of independence in organizing production, purchasing and processing farm products and trade in food throughout the country and on the international market.

The new companies will operate in the conditions of a market economy and free competition.

In connection with the acute shortage of meat, meat and dairy products on the home market, as from November 16, 1990, export licences for these products will be issued only if they are bartered against agreed deliveries of oil, fuel oil, sugar, cereals and protein components.

Monopolized Trading Firms To Be Dismantled

AU1211194690 Sofia BTA in English 1909 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)—The system of trade and services is being demonopolized. The big Promishleni Stoki ("Industrial Goods") Enterprise will be divided into 68 state-run companies and Mototekhnika ["Motor Equipment"] into 45 independent companies which will sell motor cars.

It is known that in 1991 Bulgaria will import only 15,000 Moskvich cars which will be assembled here and will be sold for leva. The list of service-stations which will be sold to private owners and cooperatives is ready.

Another monopolist, the Riba i Ribni Produkti ("Fish and Fish-Based Products") Enterprise will be closed and 14 state-run companies will be set up in its place. The Ambalazh ("Packing") Enterprise, which has been using the same mechanism of operation since 1944, will also be demonopolized, giving rise to 28 state-run companies that will trade in second-use packing materials.

Ministers Approve Bills To Eliminate Privileges

AU1311201090 Sofia BTA in English 1857 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Nov (BTA)—The Council of Ministers has approved bills amending the Pensions Act and the Nonfinancial Incentives Decree.

It is suggested to abolish special pensions as from January 1, 1991, except for retirees who do not receive another pension, and that the antifascist resistance veterans: partisans, political prisoners and concentration camp inmates, get a supplementary benefit of 30 leva to their retirement pensions. This will level them with the volunteers who fought in the war against Nazi Germany, who get the same supplement to their pensions.

Under the Pensions Act amendment bill, the preferential treatment, to which the active fighters against fascism and their heirs where entitled in terms of their length of service and method of pension allocation, would be abolished.

The other draft legislation would amend substantially the Nonfinancial Incentives Decree in Bulgaria. The honorary title "Hero of Socialist Labour" would be abolished along with the ensuing privileges, including the pension supplement of 100 leva. The wage or pension supplements of 100 and 60 leva, received so far by holders of the honorary titles "People's" and "Merited," respectively, would be cancelled. The titles themselves were abolished in 1988 but the beneficiaries have retained their right to supplementary payment.

The Council of Ministers seconds the motion of the president of the Republic submitted into the Grand National Assembly, on the repeal of a decree which laid down a number of retirement privileges for senor socio-political, state and economic officials.

All three bills have been submitted to parliament for consideration and approval.

Assembly Fails To Amend Citizens' Names Bill

AU1411224390 Sofia BTA in English 1949 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)—Although a lot of efforts were made, the Bulgarian parliament did not pass the bill of amendment to the Bulgarian Citizens' Names Act adopted in spring by the previous National Assembly.

The amendment is related to the names of several thousand Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin, whose names were forcibly changed some years ago during the so-called "regenerative process."

There were heated debates on a special rider which makes it possible to restore one's name without the suffix prescribed by Bulgarian grammar, by keeping one's ethnic and religious traditions.

The national representatives of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms made a special point of adopting the rider. Their leader, Mr. Ahmed Dogan, stated he would not assume responsibility for the events that might be triggered if the rider is not included in the new law.

Being almost on the point of passing the bill at second reading, the vote was postponed—a precedent in the now operative parliament.

It cannot be predicted what the vote on yet another point of issue would be: whether to restore the names in an administrative way, instead through a court of law, as it has been up to now.

During the debates the national representative of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) [DPS], Mr. Aden Kenan [Alyosha Keranov], insisted on recognizing as Turks the Bulgarian citizens who may wish so and who feel they have Turkish ethnic identification. He presented a petition to this effect to the chairman of parliament. He sharply reproached MRF leader Ahmed Dogan for hindering this process. The MRF immediately distanced themselves from MP Kenan. They stated he was dismissed from the leadership two months ago because of his nationalistic statements. In their declaration the MRF states they follow a consistent policy against nationalism, chauvinism, extremism and fundamentalism.

According to an MP who took the floor, 350 thousand Bulgarian citizens have been restored to their former names.

All the afternoon today there were people in front of the building of the Bulgarian parliament. They were about 200 and protested against "the forcible Turkization under the protection of the official government." They came here from Khaskovo, Asenograd, Shumen, Aytos, and Razgrad areas inhabited by compact Turkish population. They do not try to conceal their fears that the Bulgarians there can be assimilated by the Turks. They say that the MRF is anti-Bulgarian by nature. In a statement it was said that the bill of amendment to the Bulgarian Citizens' Names Law can trigger an irreversible process of Islamization of Bulgarian citizens.

Poll Rates Aleksandur Tomov Most Popular MP

AU1311200890 Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Aleksandur Tomov MP of the Socialist Party [BSP] is the most popular member of the Grand National Assembly in October, according to the rating of the "DEBATI" weekly which specializes in parliamentary affairs. Mr. Tomov, a top BSP official, tops the list with 14 per cent thanks to his "constructive and independent thinking," "moderation and a sound sense of parliamentary realism," "competence and resourcefulness" and most of all due to his attempts "to throw a bridge" between the parliamentary factions of the ruling BSP and the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

Next on the list are Mr. Ivan Kostov MP of the SDS (11 per cent), Mr. Stoyan Ganev MP of the SDS (10 per cent), Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov of the BSP (9 per cent) and Mr. Petur Beron MP, the leader of the SDS (5 per cent).

The respondents to the "DEBATI" poll will remember the parliamentary proceedings in October for the tension, the numerous political clashes in the debate of the Lukanov programme and the debate over the depoliticization law.

The 2 per cent approval rating and the 59 per cent disapproval rating for the operation of parliament agree with the results of another opinion poll, published a month ago, where the respective figures were 13 per cent approval and 62 per cent disapproval.

The "DEBATI" rating disapproval is motivated by "lots of empty words," "sluggishness and inefficiency," "scratching the surface of problems," "no businesslike approach, no professionalism, lack of clear-cut positions." In the four months and a half since it has been in session, the Grand National Assembly has not passed a single economic law.

According to 43 per cent of those interviewed, neither the parliamentary faction of the BSP nor that of the SDS are constructive enough. Some 30 per cent say that the SDS faction is more constructive, while nearly 18 per cent prefer the group of the BSP MP's.

Ninety three per cent of the respondents oppose the dissolution of parliament and the conduct of a new general election.

Report on Scope of National Black Market Noted

AU1211122190 Sofia BTA in English 0907 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)—Fifteen percent of Bulgarians earn their livelihood by black marketeering, and 20 percent of the able-bodied population is involved in the black market, Mr. Ivan Todorov, M. Sc. (econ) [master of sciences in economics], claims in today's "DEMOKRATSIYA". In his view, 60 percent of all consumer goods are bought at speculative prices, and some 15 percent of these goods are subject to direct or indirect barter.

The author insists that well-organized black marketeers operate in this country. He believes that members of the controlling authorities and customs officers are involved in the deals. The companies which do honest business make lower profits than the black marketeers, according to Mr. Todorov. A smart black marketeer can often net a profit of over 50,000 leva a month, the author writes. The money is allegedly laundered by paper deals and part of it, converted into foreign currency, leaves the country.

The black market boom is due to the billions of leva uncovered by goods. The black-market exchange rate of 14 to 17 leva per dollar is unrealistic but it opens up golden opportunities to profiteers, Mr. Todorov writes.

Intelligence Officer Defector Kostov Pardoned

AU1211142290 Sofia BTA in English 1258 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Vladimir Kostov, who was sentenced to death 12 years ago by the military panel of the Supreme Court, has been pardoned by a presidential decree.

Mr. Kostov, a veteran journalist and state security officer in Bulgaria, was director of the Horizont Programme of the Bulgarian Radio and chief secretary of the Committee for Television and Radio. In 1978, at the end of a four-year stint as a radio and television correspondent in Paris, he declared that he was defecting together with his wife and disclosed his long service as a state security officer. Since then Mr. Kostov has been working as a news analyst at the Bulgarian broadcasting department of Radio Free Europe. He enjoys immense popularity in Bulgaria. Mr. Kostov has written the book "The Bulgarian Umbrella," which has been published in France.

The presidential decree on the pardon says that it does not deprive Mr. Vladimir Kostov of the right to file for a supervisory review of the sentence by the prosecuting authorities.

Kozloduy Nuclear Plant Fault Still Not Corrected

AU1211202290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9 Nov 90 p 1

[Iliya Borisov report]

[Text] Kozloduy, 8 Nov—The country has lost over 100 million kilowatt-hours of electric power during the week which has elapsed since the shutdown of the fifth generating unit at the Kozloduy nuclear electric power plant. The fault has still not been corrected, despite the great efforts being made by specialists and workers.

The best nuclear power engineers and repair personnel are engaged in the everyday operation of the Kozloduy Nuclear power plant. During the last few days five of the eight turbine groups, each with a capacity of 220 megawatts, have been operating reliably. Every 24 hours they supply about 26 million kilowatt-hours of nuclear-produced electricity into the country's long-distance power lines.

Reactor Breakdown Blamed for Shortages

AU0911211290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Presumably it will be necessary to cut the power supply for citizens for a period of two hours every two hours. This is necessary because of the increasing power supply shortage.

As Lyubomir Kaloferov, from the Committee on Energy, said to a BTA reporter, the primary reason for the current situation is the breakdown of the No. 5 Power Unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant whose capacity amounted to 1 million kilowatts. Mr. Kaloferov explained that the breakdown of the reactor makes us dependent on the temperature outside. If, for example the average daily temperature is 18-degrees Celsius, the optimal exploitation of the power system amounts to 5.3 million kilowatts, if the temperature is four-degrees Celsius, the optimal exploitation amounts to 6.8 million kilowatts.

As a result of the accident our power system cannot be fully used which means that restrictions of energy consumptions by citizens will be intensified.

The damage caused to the 1,000-megawatt turbine of the No. 5 power unit seems to be more serious than the specialists thought. It is the second breakdown of this kind within the last five months. After the first repair, representatives of the Leningrad producer plant signed a document in which they guaranteed the work of the generator for 30 years, but it already needs further repair.

Workers and specialists from the electric workshop, from the turbine workshop, and from the Atomenergoremont Company began dismantling the nearly 100 ton rotor to examine it and repair it. They are working in three shifts.

A representative of the main construction plant and specialists from the Leningrad Elektrosila Plant are participating in the repair work. They still cannot definitely determine whether the damage can be repaired, or if the rotor has to be replaced, which would greatly prolong the idling of the power unit and will further exacerbate the power supply crisis in the country.

If the repair work is successful, the power unit can be put into operation no sooner than 14 days.

Alleged Radiation Leak Denied

AU0911211390 Sofia BTA in English 1902 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 9 Nov (BTA)—"The report which appeared in Yugoslav and other mass media about an accident at generating unit 5 of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant involving a leak of radiation is absolutely groundless," said Mr. Georgi Khalachev, first deputy chairman of the Power Engineering Committee. "The Yugoslav press allegations that the power plant operates Chernobyl-type reactors and that reports that radioactive waste is stored on the Bulgaro- Yugoslav border do not correspond to the truth, either. Obviously, it is a question of untrue and tendentious information from an unreliable source," he told the BTA.

Mr. Khalachev said that the automatic switch-off of Kozloduy unit 5 on October 30 was actuated by the electric safety system and was due to a breakdown in the electric generator. The unit was switched off normally, without any defects in the remaining facilities.

He explained that the unit's switch-off and repair work are unrelated to nuclear and radiological safety and do not involve higher levels of radiation.

IAEA To Complete Check 23 Nov

AU1211182990 Sofia BTA in English 1653 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)—By November 23 the mission of the International Atomic Energy Agency will have completed the inspection of the four 440-megawatt generating units of the nuclear power plant in Kozloduy. The group of eleven experts, which also includes two observers from Romania, will survey all emergencies in the exploitation of the units up to now. On the basis of their findings an evaluation of their safety will be made. The emergencies of the last four years will be analysed according to the international evaluation scale.

The leader of the mission, Mr. Bernard Thomas, told the BTA that the mission would not give concrete instructions for the changes to be made in the safety systems, but would recommend some measures that should be taken to guarantee the safe operation of the reactors.

Flights To Evacuate Citizens From Iraq Planned

AU1411183890 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)—A BTA reporter has learnt from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the negotiations with Iraq on the practical fulfilment of the agreement reached during Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev's visit to Iraq are going on. According to the agreement all Bulgarian citizens whose employment contracts have expired and those who are not needed for the completion of the two Bulgarian projects in Iraq will be allowed to return to Bulgaria. Up to now 230 Bulgarian citizens have been given exit visas by Iraq, including a group of Bulgarians who went from Kuwait to Iraq. Some Bulgarians have already come back to their country.

An agreement was reached that there will be two Iraqi flights from Baghdad to Sofia on November 15 and November 20, on which the Bulgarians who have exit visas will arrive. According to preliminary data, 175 Bulgarians are expected to arrive from Iraq on November 15.

Chemical Troops Commander on Gulf Volunteer Unit

AU1311150690 Sofia BTA in English 1443 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 13 Nov (BTA)—Interviewed by the NARODNA ARMIYA paper, the commander of the chemical forces of the Bulgarian People's army, Major General Lyubomir Dinev, says there are only eight military "chemists" among the several thousand Bulgarian volunteers who want to join the chemical protection unit which Bulgaria will end to the region of the Persian Gulf.

General Dinev dwells on a number of military and technical problems which the Bulgarian soldiers will inevitably have to face in the Saudi Arabian desert. There are no "desert rats" in the Bulgarian Army, which is trained to act in European conditions, the general points out.

He says that the equipment of the Bulgarian military chemists will have to work within the upper limit of its capacity, in conditions of temperature variations from zero to 50 degrees centigrade and sand storms, which will probably block many of the mechanisms.

Major General Dinev predicts that if hostilities break out, Iraq will probably use chemical warfare agents such as vaporized Yperite, Sarin and Tabun [names as received] which will permeate through the soldiers' uniforms. That is why most of the time the Bulgarian volunteers will have to wear protective clothing which has no ventilation devices. Heat strokes are inevitable in this situation, the general says.

The preparation of the Bulgarian unit, which will be about 300 people strong, is aimed at reducing to a minimum the negative impact of these problems. According to General Dinev the Bulgarian unit will be ready to join the international forces in the region of the Persian Gulf by the end of the year. A group of Bulgarian military experts will be sent there in advance to study the conditions and to choose a place for the camp of the Bulgarian soldiers.

Foreign Minister Gotsev Departs on NATO Visit

AU1411155490 Sofia BTA in English 1416 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, Bulgaria's minister of foreign affairs, is leaving for Brussels today to visit the NATO Headquarters there. Announcing this at today's briefing, the Foreign Ministry's Press Department stressed that this is the first visit by a Bulgarian chief diplomat to the NATO Headquarters.

In Brussels Mr. Gotsev will meet with Dr. Manfred Woerner, NATO's secretary general, with representatives of the NATO member countries and with a vice president of the Commission of the European Communities. On Friday [16 November] the Bulgarian foreign minister will hold meetings at the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

Meets With Belgium's Eyskens in Brussels

AU1411223790 Sofia BTA in English 2039 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Brussels, 14 Nov (BTA)—Mr. Lyuben Gotsev, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, who arrived on an official visit to NATO today, had a meeting with Mr. Mark Eyskens, minister of foreign affairs of Belgium.

A positive assessment was made of the two countries' relations. At the same time it was pointed out that there is nothing to hinder their further promotion.

The Bulgarian side put forward some concrete ideas as to the advancement of bilateral relations in the political and economic sphere. It was agreed that early next year Mr. Eyskens will visit Bulgaria for political consultations between the Foreign Ministries of the two countries and will attend the session of the joint Bulgaro-Belgian Committee for Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation.

The Belgian side pointed out that the Belgian Parliament will ratify the agreement on the avoidance of double taxation with Bulgaria. Belgium will grant 15 scholarships for training Bulgarian management specialists, will assist in granting credits to Bulgaria and will send humanitarian aid on the basis of concrete requests.

The two ministers considered the prospects of all-European cooperation in connection with the forthcoming summit in Paris. They both backed up the idea to set up an international center of peace and prevention of conflicts.

After the meeting Mr. Mark Eyskens said that Belgium understands Bulgaria's efforts in trying to get aid from the International Monetary Fund. The Belgian minister said that in its turn his country will render assistance, within the framework of the European Communities, pleading to grant credits to Bulgaria. We are looking forward to Bulgaria's joining the world and Europe, when the necessary requirements are met, he stated. Our position is that an economic reform should be carried out in Bulgaria which would result in the marketization of her economy, he said. The information that there is political pluralism and that the opposition in Bulgaria plays an important role was received with great satisfaction. To overcome the economic crisis will be extremely difficult for you and we are ready to respond by giving aid and continuing to seek possibilities of granting credits to your country, Mr. Eyskens said.

Planned Meeting With NATO's Woerner Viewed

AU1511114190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] In a very few hours' time, a meeting is to take place at NATO Headquarters in a suburb of Brussels which is unprecedented for Bulgarian diplomacy, between Foreign Ministry Lyuben Gotsev and NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner.

As is known, Mr. Gotsev has been in Brussels since yesterday, and has already met with his Belgian counterpart, Mark Eyskens, from whom he obtained assurances that Belgium has full understanding for Bulgaria's efforts to obtain assistance from the IMF, and that in its turn Belgium will provide support within the framework of the EC for the granting of credits for our sick economy.

Here is Georgi Patokochev's assessment of the forthcoming meeting:

[Begin Patokochev recording] Lyuben Gotev's meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner truly would have been considered unthinkable a few months ago. The highly polarized hostility of the two blocs, in which we also participated with all our strength, restricted to the minimum the possibilities for opening up constructive diplomacy. The new relations with the Western states, the sharply altered political climate in Europe, and the powerful democratic processes in the former socialist countries have made possible this meeting, from which both sides will strive to derive benefit.

It is certain that the Bulgarian foreign minister will try to obtain new guarantees for our national security, as well as definite commitments on NATO's part for stability and security in our geographical region. For his part, the NATO leader will seek proof of the goodwill and, more important, the predictibility of Bulgarian foreign policy, which has distanced itself from the accumulations of the past and the shortsighted bloc solidarity.

I will comment on one other very important fact. The visit by the Bulgarian foreign minister to NATO Headquarters is taking place before the Paris CSCE meeting, which is called upon to make its own political contribution to the new realities and to defuse the military confrontation on the old continent. [end recording]

Zhelev Departs for Japan; Makes Stop in Moscow

AU1011202590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Nov 90

[Text] On his way to Japan, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of Bulgaria, today made a short stopover in the Soviet capital. At Sheremetyevo-2 Airport he was welcomed by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the USSR Presidential Council. Bulgarian Ambassador Georgi Pankov was also in attendance.

After his short meeting with Aleksandr Yakovlev, President Zhelyu Zhelev stated that they briefed one other on the situation in the two countries. He said that Aleksandr Yakovlev gave a detailed account of the problems which the Soviet Union is encountering, many of the specific features of which are common for both Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. They also discussed the changes in international politics.

Zhelyu Zhelev expressed a wish to meet USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, which in his view might take place at the Paris CSCE Summit to be held from 19 through 21 November.

Asked about the situation in Bulgaria, Zhelyu Zhelev said he felt no anxiety, because the country has a government and parliament which have been legally elected and should function. The fact that there were demonstrations, protests, and criticism in Bulgaria, stressed Zhelyu Zhelev, is quite normal for a parliamentary democracy.

Later this evening the president of Bulgaria flew on to Japan. He was seen off by Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the USSR Presidential Council.

Meets Research Institute Chief in Tokyo

AU1211221090 Sofia BTA in English 2145 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Georgi Apostolov report]

[Text] Tokyo, 12 Nov (BTA)—In parallel with his participation in the ceremonies related to Emperor Akihito's crowning, Bulgaria's president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, began a series of business meetings.

Today he had a meeting with Mr. Reiychi Shimamoto, director general of the Japanese Research Institute, which makes strategic analyses and forecasts about the development of the economy in Japan and in different countries and regions in the world. In his opinion Bulgaria's transition to market economy would be successfully implemented if the country's concentrates on several priority fields. Mr. Shimamoto also said that Japan can help Bulgaria with the transition, but that the Japanese capitals should be guaranteed. He pointed out that the political stability in the country is of special importance and that besides by the presidential institution, stability can be ensured by a strong coalition government.

Tomorrow President Zhelev will have meetings with the minister of trade and industry of Japan, with the chairman of the lower chamber of the Japanese parliament and with representatives of the business circles in Japan.

Discusses Aid With Trade, Industry Minister

AU1311193490 Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Tokyo, 13 Nov (BTA correspondent)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, today had a series of working meetings, apart from attending the formal functions related to the coronation of His Imperial Majesty Akihito, emperor of Japan.

Dr. Zhelev today conferred with Mr. Kabun Muto, minister of international trade and industry, who told him that Japan can assist Bulgaria's transition to a market economy by sharing its experience in economic management, in raising labour productivity and in the efficient utilisation of energy resources which are scarce in both countries. The Japanese minister pointed out Japan's readiness to help Bulgaria within the International Monetary Fund, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development and through the Japanese Export and Import Bank. Mr. Muto further expressed his government's readiness to admit Bulgarian experts for training in Japanese companies or in their European subsidiaries, as well as to send Japanese experts to Bulgaria.

Dr Zhelyu Zhelev held talks with Mr. Yoshio Sakurauchi, speaker of the House of Representatives (the lower house) of the Japanese Diet, who also said he was ready to work for Japan's assistance to Bulgaria's transition. Mr. Sakurauchi expressed willingness for wider contacts between the two countries' parliaments.

The Bulgarian president had a meeting with Mr. Kazuo Haruna, chairman of the Bulgaro-Japanese Committee for Economic Cooperation and president of the Marubeni Corp., with Mr. Takuya Iwasaki, president of the Nikko Securities Co., Ltd., and with Mr. Tsuneo Ikeda, chairman of the Society for Friendship with Bulgaria and president of Kobunsha Publishers. Mr. Haruna emphasized that there are opportunities for wider cooperation through the bilateral committee but its activation would benefit considerably if a Bulgarian co-chairman is appointed. Mr. Iwasaki said that Nikko Shoken is ready to help the establishment of a stock exchange in Bulgaria and to assist in the privatization and the establishment of joint ventures in Bulgaria. He pointed out that the International Monetary Fund is launching an action to reschedule Bulgaria's foreign debt and that already this month Japanese financial experts will visit this country. Mr. Ikeda told Dr Zhelev about his idea to organise exchange of radio and television programmes between Japan and Bulgaria.

Tomorrow the Bulgarian president will confer with Mr. Toshiki Kaifu, prime minister of Japan, and with Japanese academics and businessmen.

Kaifu Pleased With Reforms Under Way

AU1411224190 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Tokyo, 14 Nov (BTA)—The president of Bulgaria, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, who is on a five-day visit to Japan at the invitation of the Japanese Government in connection with Emperor Akihito's crowning ceremony, today had a meeting with Mr. Toshiki Kaifu, prime minister of Japan.

The Japanese prime minister highly appreciated Bulgaria's efforts to democratize the country and implement the transition to market economy.

President Zhelev asked for Japan's assistance in reviving the Bulgarian economy. Mr. Toshiki Kaifu stated that Japan was ready to explore all possibilities for helping Bulgaria along through such international institutions as the World Bank, the Group of 24 and the International Monetary Fund. He pointed out that special attention would be paid to the possibilities which might be untapped through the Japanese Import-Export Bank and the Club of Creditors in Paris. Mr. Kaifu also expressed Japan's readiness to give technological and humanitarian aid to Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian president underlined that Bulgaria should be no longer be considered a satellite of the Soviet Union, because now it is an independent country which wants to promote her relations not only with the USSR, but with countries such as the United States and Turkey and with all countries in the world. The traditional friendship with Japan is of special value to us, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev pointed out.

Today the president of the Republic had a meeting with one of the most influential politicians in Japan, the former deputy prime minister, Mr. Shin Kanemaru. They discussed some problems of Bulgaria's transition to market economy and some matters related to international affairs were discussed.

Prince Mikassa, deceased Emperor Hirohito's brother, and his wife paid a courtesy visit to President Zhelev and his wife. Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev had a meeting with the honorary chairman of the influential Soka Gakkai Buddhist organization, Mr. Daisaku Ikeda. At the meeting Dr. Zhelev was conferred the honorary insignia of the University of the Saka organization. He had talks with Professor Shigeiyoshi Matsumae, president of the University of Tokyo, at which they discussed the possibilities of promoting the two countries' contacts in the sphere of science.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev met a group of Japanese businessmen who are interested in the advancement of their business contacts with Bulgaria. One of them was the president of the D.C.S. Company, Mr. Kodzushi Miura. The company plans to trade in Bulgarian paintings and promote Japanese tourism in Bulgaria.

Tomorrow President Zhelev will meet Japanese parliamentarians and will have talks with Mr. Taro Nakayama, minister of the interior of Japan [title as received].

Defense Minister, U.S. Ambassador View Relations

AU1311201690 Sofia BTA in English 1907 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Nov (BTA)—Colonel General Yordan Mutafchiev, minister of national defence, today conferred with Mr. Hugh Kenneth Hill, the U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria. They discussed the situation in the country and in the Army and the efforts to improve the relations between Bulgaria and the United States. In a businesslike atmosphere of goodwill, they considered bilateral concerns.

This is what the ministry's press centre reported on the meeting.

According to information obtained by the BTA, one of the topics of discussion at the meeting, which was the first of its kind for decades, was the detailing of Bulgarian servicemen for training in the United States.

Expert Arrives To Study Ruse-Giurgiu Pollution

AU1211194590 Sofia BTA in English 1907 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Nov (BTA)—The Press Department with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has informed the BTA that in accordance with the agreement the governments of Bulgaria and Romania reached on carrying out an international expertise inspection in the region of Ruse and Giurgiu Mr. Jan Huismans, director of the UNEP [United Nations Environmental Problem] International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals, arrived here today.

Mr. Huismans had a meeting at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at which some problems related to the organization of the inspection were discussed.

The international team of experts who will carry out the inspection are expected to be here late in November.

Defense Council Reviews Doctrine, Principles

LD1411162190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] We did not receive a report on Monday's meeting of the State Defense Council, in which President Havel participated, until today.

The meeting was chaired by Marian Calfa, council chairman and prime minister of the Federal Government. The State Defense Council evaluated the draft military doctrine and principles of the new system of administration of defense, security, and protection of the state, and expressed agreement with the preparation of legislative principles for the formation of a Security Council which will adopt measures for securing the defense, security, and protection of the inhabitants and the economy during peacetime and during a defense alert. This is aimed at securing the tasks that will prevent possible accidents, catastrophes, and natural disasters, and will provide comprehensive measures to deal with their consequences.

The Defense Council also approved the concept of the formation of the Army after 1990, which will, along with the military doctrine, create prerequsites for the Army's readiness to defend state sovereignty. The basis of this concept is a reduction in the number of men and arms, the period of basic military service, a gradual professionalization, and the fair basing of forces on the whole territory of Czechoslovakia. In this connection considerable attention was given to making use of the airports of the Czechoslovak Army. The Defense Council was consistently aware of the need to secure reliable air defenses for the state without allowing a rise in unfavorable ecological consequences. Numerous requirements from the civilian population to reduce traffic at military airports were taken into account at the same time. The council instructed the minister of defense to look for further ways to reduce the number of aircraft and, possibly, airports. It decided to stop military use of the Brno Turany airport and to hand it over to civilian administration.

The Defense Council agreed to make public exceptional measures adopted since 1977, in particular those against the so-called internal enemy. It cancelled their validity and instructed that the relevant material should be handed over to the Prosecutor General's Office so that the legality of these measures can be evaluated.

The council also evaluated all resolutions adopted by the former State Defense Council from 14 March 1969 to 28 September 1989. It considers the majority of the resolutions to be out-of-date. It cancelled the validity of a number of resolutions and it ordered amendments in other cases regarding laws being adopted.

Pithart Recounts Talks Between Prime Ministers

LD1411203890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] The government of the Czech Republic held a session in Prague today. In the course of the session Prime Minister Petr Pithart met with journalists. Katerina Hrochova now reports:

[Hrochova] Czech Republic Interior Minister Tomas Hradilek announced at today's session that he will ask the Presidium of the Czech National Council that he be released from the post of interior minister. This was the first important piece of information given by Petr Pithart to journalists. The resignation of the Czech interior minister, according to the Czech prime minister, is not connected with any mistake in carrying out his duties in the post; the only reason is his above-average sense of responsibility. Petr Pithart called the resignation of Tomas Hradilek a great blow to the Czech Government and in connection with this he said that it is not clear yet who will be in charge of the Ministry of Interior. The only thing which is clear, however, it the fact that the ministry has to undergo great organizational changes.

The other equally interesting information at today's press conference is the prime minister's assessment of yesterday's talks of all three governments on the division of powers between national republics and the federation. Petr Pithard said:

[Begin Pithart recording] The talks held yesterday—which, from the point of view of governments, can indeed be viewed as definitive—confirmed that all that we started solving in Trencianske Teplice and everything that we held talks on before has been resolved for the benefit of republics and for the benefit of the federation. We have not threatened the unity of the state. We have clearly strenghtened it, I dare say with all responsibility. I even believe that there was no other possibility then to embark on this risky path. In any other case, sooner or later, we would meet literally with crisis-ridden moments and one of them could indeed end with disintegration of the state.

The Czech Government, and I personally, have had an extremely difficult role on this path. We—not only because of the situation as such, when cards were dealt, but also thanks to our determination to play this role—stood between the Federal Government and the Slovak Government. This is quite clear. It was we who kept our two partners in touch and took care that communications were not cut.

He who stands in such a position—in the middle—is in a difficult situation, naturally. We speak about powers from the legislative point of view. This gives a rise to a kind of comparison with a kind of a competition: Who will get what power for himself? However, in fact the issue is a kind of a responsibility which we take upon ourselves so that our total responsibility which we have towards citizens of the Czech Republic can in fact be

fulfilled by us, because if you have a bit of respondibility here and a bit of responsibility there and between that there is an area where we cannot say anything because the matter there is for federal bodies only, then you can simply be promising, pledging, declaring anything but you simply cannot fulfill what you want, or what we are doing in our posts. This is quite clear in the case of those sensitive places of the Czech Republic—North Moravia and North-West Bohemia.

We are responsible for the environment, but the Federal Government has not been able yet to draft any power-generating concept. Without the energy and fuel concept we cannot intervene at all in the problems of the environment in North Bohemia. Thus, we were interested in a kind of an assemblage of responsibilities because otherwise the fragments of responsiblity mean helplessness. Thus we have been discussing powers but in fact we have been striving for us to get any chance at all to bear the burden which rests on us. [end recording]

[Hrochova] The Czech Government had on its agenda, beside information about yesterday's session of the three governments also an examination of 13 draft legislative amendments—for example the draft bill of the Czech National Council on the powers of the Czech Republic organs in the so-called large privatization, the draft bill of the Czech National Council on the protection of the environment, and so on. Private entrepreneurs and state enterprises will be interested above all in the draft bill on foreign trade contacts which should replace the bill from 1980 and its amandment from last year. Foreign trade activity should be considerably simplified and administrative barriers should be removed.

'Unnamed Source' Denies Calfa's Offer To Resign

AU1311161690 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Nov 90 p 1

[Unattributed report]

[Text] According to unnamed sources, the Thursday [8 November] session of the Federal Government ended long after midnight. The ministers voiced dissatisfaction with the submitted bill on the changing of powers between the republics and the federation and put forward a number of proposals for its modification, especially in the sphere of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The reports about Marian Calfa's alleged readiness to resign are not based on truth, according to the same sources.

The prime minister commented on the complicated talks as follows: "A situation has arisen in which the republican governments had already approved the bill while the Federal Government reached the conclusion that the bill needs to be 'polished' in a very simple way, finalized, complemented, and so forth. One need not make any sensation out of this."

Calfa's 12 Nov Speech Criticized

LD1311131790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Report from Prague by Michal Tvarozek on meeting of Czech, Slovak, and Federal prime ministers]

[Text] The key day for the federation, which is how some papers described today, did not start in a very optimistic way. In Hrzan Palace, before 0900, there was lively discussion between two government presidiums, the federal and the Czech ones. The Slovak delegation is sitting over open documents studying yesterday's speech by Prime Minister Calfa and comparing it with their proposals. Information that not all members of the governments will be allowed to attend the meeting did not contribute to the atmosphere. Each side was to be represented by seven members to ensure parity. All discrepancies were solved by 0930, however, and the meeting began. It has been continuing without a break until now and it is not expected to end soon.

We are determined not to back down from the economic parts of the agreement, I was told by [Slovak] Minister [of Industry] Jozef Belcak, before the talks. Deputy Prime Minister of the [Slovak] Government Jozsef Kucerak admitted that certain compromises can be expected but not on the decisive issues of the agreement. Together with [Slovak] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar they described yesterday's speech by [Federal Prime Minister] Calfa as unfortunate, untruthful, and untimely. Prime Minister Meciar accused this approach of having shortocmings of procedure and content. He was surprised in particular about the fact that for three months the Federal Government had not had any objections to talks between ministries which culminated in an agreement between the Czech and Slovak Governments. This has until now been under discussion in the Czech and Slovak Governments as the basis for the future constitutional law on powers. Now, only a short distance away from the historic goal, it appears that a whole new edifice will have to be constructed.

Before the meeting began my colleague, Andrej Javorsky from the VEREJNOST daily and I, as the only Slovak journalists here, asked Prime Minister Meciar if there could be a political crisis. Prime Minister Meciar replied that this state of affairs could slow down the whole process but not stop it.

Political Situation Before Elections Viewed

AU1211105490 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Nov 90 p 2

[Marek Boguszak, Ivan Gabal, Vladimir Rak, AISA article: "Results of Agency for Independent Social Analysis Research; How Well Off They Are"]

[Text] The dominants of the fall political stage are analogous to those before the parliamentary elections. Nevertheless, the beginning of the second electoral campaign this year is marked by several new factors. From

the point of view of support for the political parties and movements, Civic Forum [OF] maintains its unrivalled position. Compared to the situation before the parliamentary elections, however, the social profile of its voters is not as clear. Hence, its leading position is due to the weakness of others rather than by the strength of OF. Support for the communists, social democrats, greens, and the agrarian parties and movements is stable. The others lost compared to June, and numerous small parties and movements, when viewed from the local point of view, almost disappeared.

The regional differences marked a sharp increase. A typical example is the support for the Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia, which took over all of South Moravia and is also strong in northern Moravian. The standpoints of the voters of Movement for Autonomous Democracy/ Society for Moravia and Silesia are in general close to those of voters of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. They are younger individuals, usually with a journeyman's education.

Slovakia is dominated by the trio of the Slovak National Party, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], and the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement. Here too, the small parties and movements lost and regional differences deepened. For example in Bratislava and in Central Slovakia the position of the Slovak National Party seems to be unshakable. Similar to the Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia, the Slovak National Party has the support of the young generation, apprenticed or high-school educated.

Strong regional roots linked with an absolute dominance in certain regions and the emotionally based national program, to which the young generation without the highest education responds, give these two political parties strong starting positions for the local elections. Their ambitions, however, are obviously higher, and their eventual great electoral success could be reflected not only in the strong positions on the local and regional scale, but it could be a springboard to the highest level, at which the republic and state policies are formed.

The confidence in the highest as well as the local political institutions is just as important and indicator of the spread of political forces and support. We are mostly concerned with its structure, i.e., establishing which institutions are mutually linked from the point of view of people's confidence, and again which are mutually independent in the sense that the citizen's confidence in one of them does not necessarily carry with it a confidence in the other.

This structure is two-dimensional by the population of the Czech Republic. The first dimension, in which confidence significantly outweighs mistrust, includes the highest institutions: the president and his advisers, the Federal and the Czech Governments, but also OF. The second dimension, to a large degree dependent on the first dimension, includes the Slovak Government together with the national committees. In absolute terms, in the Czech Republic mistrust of the Slovak Government outweighs confidence.

The population of Slovakia features three dimensions. The first one is formed independently by the VPN movement. Hence, this movement in Slovakia, as opposed to OF in Bohemia and Moravia, is not linked to the constitutional institutions. The second dimension again consists of the Slovak Government and national committees. The Slovak Government, however, enjoys great confidence in Slovakia. Albeit not very distinctly, yet negatively linked to this confidence is the president—the confidence in the Slovak Government is rather more connected with the mistrust of the president and vice versa. Finally, the third dimension encompasses the extra-Slovak institutions, the Federal and the Czech Governments together with the president. The confidence in them is noticeably lower than the confidence in the Slovak Government, yet it outweighs the mistrust. It is worth recording that the confidence in the Slovak Government and the support for the Slovak National Party do not preclude one another, rather the opposite is true.

The divergence of the republic political stages and the spread of the political forces are great and are strongly enhanced by national factors. Very special in Slovakia is the position of the purely Slovak forces and institutions. The federal bodies are perceived and assessed separately. In the political struggle of various forces, those gain wide support, which are able to formulate their position clearly and push it through effectively. The simplicity of the political spectrum in the Czech Republic and a certain absence of political competition lead to the frequently negative assessment of the perseverance and sharpness of the Slovak political stage. Hence the political sources of the nationalist tension are more likely to be situated in Slovakia but its effects are more sensitively perceived in the Czech Republic.

Klaus Blamed for Intergovernmental Rifts

AU1311190790 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Nov 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "The Burden of Crisis Is on the Federal Government's Shoulders; Would a Referendum Stop the Quiet Disintegration of the State?"]

[Text] In view of the current situation in Slovakia, Prague Civic Forum [OF] circles do not hide their concern that "we are confronted with an attempt at dividing the republic into two states," as the OF weekly FORUM put it in its latest issue. The latest worries on the Czech side are caused not so much by the activities of Slovak nationalists from the Slovak National Party as by the stance of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] voiced at its assembly in Kosice a week ago and by the urgency with which Meciar's [Slovak] government presses for a consistent division of powers between the federation and the republics. One speaks openly about

the OF and other political parties not wanting to be a party to the quiet disintegration of the Czechs' and Slovaks' common state.

The nervousness has not steered clear even of President Vaclav Havel, who, out of concern for the further fate of Czechoslovakia, initiated a meeting between himself and the three prime ministers at Slavkov. The discussions there concerned, among other things, the question of whether constitutional prerequisites should not be established for calling a referendum on the future of the federation. The participants in the meeting did not deem the present internal political situation ripe for such a step, although this option has not been ruled out for the future. The proponents of the idea of a referendum believe that it would stabilize the situation in favor of the preservation of the federal model of Czech-Slovak relations.

There even already exists a constitutional bill on a referendum which would make it possible to realize the right of self-determination of nations, including secession. This bill even provides for the method of dividing the CSFR's assets and liabilities in the event of the federation's extinction and does not ignore the solution of other problems connected with the further arrangement of Czech-Slovak relations either.

Viewed against the background of the above circumstances, it is not surprising that the constitutional bill on the transfer of powers from the federation to the republics ran up against such reservations of principle when discussed in the Federal Government. Already the displeasure aroused by the [Slovak] proposal to establish the posts of state secretaries in the Federal Government—which were to be filled by persons of Czech or Slovak nationality depending on the nationality of the respective minister—signalled that the so-called competence law would not meet with full understanding among all the relevant officials on the Czech side. Even the fact that the constitutional bill had been approved by both republican governments was not a sufficient argument for ministers of the Calfa government to give their consent to it.

It was Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus, in particular, who accepted his own interpretation of the philosophy of the agreements of Trencianske Teplice, which anchored the principle that the sovereignty of the republics takes precedence over the sovereignty of the federation. In other words, the Federal Government called in question the authority of its own prime minister, who had only three days before [at the Federal Government session of 8 November] reached an agreement with his colleagues from the republican governments on the content of the amendment to the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak federation. The OF chairman has taken upon himself the burden of crisis in Czech-Slovak relations, including the unpredictable risk of destabilization of the domestic political situation in the federation.

Cabinet Postpones Debate on Federation Bill

AU1211132890 Prague CTK in English 2052 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 8 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak cabinet today put off the debate on the bill on the Czechoslovak federation, defining the powers of the federal and republic governments, until later tonight.

The cabinet approved draft principles of an agreement on good-neighbor relations and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany.

It heard a report of the Finance Ministry on measures in support of private businesses, stating that psychological and administrative barriers were the main obstacles to private business in the present period. The measures in support of private businesses are aimed to create a sufficiently motivating environment for market economy through taxes, credits, legal status, and insurance.

The cabinet discussed ways of monitoring prices development after their liberalization, to be ensured by the information system of state statistics and by a price regulation and control system shaped by the federal and republics' finance ministries.

The cabinet approved agreements concluded between the Czechoslovak Government and the Governments of Greece and Algiers on cooperation and aid in the customs sphere, aimed to facilitate tourist traffic, trade, and more effective cooperation in fighting against smuggling of drugs and antiques. It approved also an agreement with the Canadian Government on cooperation in culture, science, and sports.

At a press conference, Director of a Federal Office of Statistics Department Kamil Kudlacek stated that the index of consumer prices in the first nine months of this year rose in Czechoslovakia by 7.2 percent compared with the same period last year, with the biggest growth registered in the July-September period due to rises in the prices of food, when the overall prices level grew by 14.1 percent, of food by 20 percent, industrial goods by 11 percent, public catering by 15.9 percent and services by 9.9 percent.

The inflation rate next year is estimated at 15 to 30 percent.

Dobrovsky Recommends New Military Doctrines

AU1311124590 Prague LIDOVA DEMOCRACIE in Czech 9 Nov 90 p 7

["kcr"-signed report: "Army Only for Defense"]

[Text] For the second time within just a few weeks the deputies in the Federal Assembly defense and security committees were considering a proposal of the CSFR military doctrine. It was introduced in the committees by Defense Minister L. Dobrovsky and his collaborators saying that this version is a compromise between the

original proposals by the General Staff of the Czechoslovak Army and by the initiative group of deputies.

According to this doctrine, we are becoming a sovereign state even from the military point of view. Our Army ceases to be subordinated to the Warsaw Pact. The Armed Forces defend our sovereignty against any aggressor and they become the bearer of this sovereignty. The point of departure for the authors of the doctrine is the principle of reasonable sufficiency, i.e., that the offensive character of the Army will be changed, for example by reducing the number of tanks (by about 200 pieces), by limiting the assault air force, by elimination of the offensive deployment etc. In addition, our country will not produce any nuclear or mass annihilation weapons, nor will it allow deployment of such weapons in our territory. The transformation of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces will also involve a reduction in the strength of Czechoslovak Army by one-quarter before the end of 1992 and by two-thirds before the end of the 1990s. Their professionalization and necessary changes in deployment will be introduced concurrently. The deputies expressed a general satisfaction with the proposal. L. Lis demanded a faster pace of the reduction in the strength of the troops and their early professionalization. He also pressed for a substantial reduction of military expenses. Some deputies noted a lack in the doctrine of any instructions for the conduct of the Army in case of a defeat. Minister Dobrovsky replied that an acceptance of such an eventuality would cast doubt on the entire doctrine. Moreover, he asserted that a sharp reduction in the expenses would threaten our defensibility.

The proposed military doctrine is not just an expression of the social changes in Czechoslovakia. It also reflects the global endeavors for disarmament and reduction of international tension; it builds on the international agreements (UN Charter, Helsinki Process...) and the principle of mutual trust. After some minor changes, the deputies recommended the doctrine for adoption.

Official on Serious Budget Situation

AU1311160790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Engineer Stefan Bazant, director of the State Budget and Closing Account department at the Federal Ministry of Finance, by Miloslav Hradil; place and date not given: "Lower Revenues, Higher Expenditures; State Budget in a Precarious Situation"—first two paragraphs are RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Both the internal and external economic conditions are becoming more complicated. Is it realistic in this situation to expect the state closing account for 1990 to show a surplus of almost 5.4 billion korunas, as projected in the law on the state budget?

This was the topic of our conversation with Engineer Stefan Bazant, director of the State Budget and Closing Account department at the Federal Ministry of Finance.

[Hradil] In the last couple of weeks one could often come across the view that the state budget is "adrift." Is this true?

[Bazant] No. Yet it is a fact that some serious risks jeopardizing the meeting of the budgetary targets have appeared in the second half of the year. We did not rule out such risks but we considered them only as an emergency situation. Now they are the reality.

[Hradil] Where are the greatest problems concentrated?

[Bazant] As far as external factors are concerned, it is, for example, the virtual collapse of trade with the former GDR and the marketing crisis connected with it. We estimate that our state budget will incur a loss of about 1 billion korunas as a result of this crisis alone. The by far biggest problem, however, is the present oil situation. Additional expenditures to secure oil supplies will probably amount to some 7 billion korunas. These are not, of course, the only problems.

[Hradil] What about internal factors?

[Bazant] It is no secret that the main industrial branches are either stagnating this year or registering a decline in economic activity. The generation of resources is therefore lower, which inevitably has an impact on levies surrendered to the state. We estimate that these levies will fall between 5 and 6 billion korunas short of the projected amount. The shortfall could, however, be as high as 9 billion korunas. Moreover, there are some expenditures that had originally not been anticipated. The implementation of the new school law, for example, will require additional expenditures of around 1 billion korunas this year.

[Hradil] How are fighting these adverse influences and how do you intend to fight them in the future?

[Bazant] The risks cannot be distributed evenly. When the state has a higher oil import bill, it is certainly correct if this bill is paid by the recipient of oil supplies, be it the citizen or an enterprise. This is why we have raised the price of fuels; this increase covers the increased cost of imports.

[Hradil] Not everything can be tackled by means of price adjustments, especially with the regard to the internal problems outlined above....

[Bazant] The state budget has certain contingency reserves. These will not suffice, however. We will therefore have to return to some expenditures which had been foreseen in the budget. We will consider once again their importance and will simply not finance items which are less essential. One of the measures that have already been taken in this regard was the immediate suspension of state contributions to individual housing construction.

[Hradil] Do you believe that it is still feasible to achieve a surplus of almost 5.4 billion korunas in the closing state account?

[Bazant] It is impossible to give an unequivocal answer to this question. Should the measures being taken prove to be insufficiently vigorous, it is quite possible that the surplus will be lower by 3 billion korunas. I am confident, however, that the main target of the state budget will be met—to safeguard a restrictive anti-inflationary policy, which is one of the conditions of speed the transition toward market economy.

[Hradil] The state budget for next year is already being drawn up. Could you characterize its basic philosophy?

[Bazant] We want it to be even more forcefully market-oriented. On the one hand, enterprises will gain about 13 billion korunas thanks to lower levies but, on the other, there will be a further substantial reduction of subsidies for the production sphere, compared with this year. The aim of the 1991 budget will be to limit the state's role in redistribution processes and to transfer responsibility for the economic sphere to enterprises to the greatest possible extent.

[Hradil] Thank you for the interview.

Commentary on Inflation, Credit Policy

AU1211122790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Nov 90 p 1

[Frantisek Nevaril commentary: "Inflation and Savings"]

[Text] Whether we like it or not, inflation has been set in motion and is beginning to gather pace. At the end of September, inflation had exceeded 14 percent in comparison to the same period last year. If we take the impact of "black October 1990" into consideration (the second increase in the price of fuel, an increase in the cost of cars, and the devaluation of the koruna) as well as the other price increases envisaged before the end of the year—more significant impacts are contemplated from the introduction of devaluation (imports) and the liberalization of prices, from the increased cost of air transportation, tourism, fuels, energy, and construction materials—then, by the end of the year, the pace of price increases will exceed at least 20 percent and, probably, will be even higher.

This year the average rate of price increases will hover around 2 percent per month; this has already matched, and has in fact exceeded, the current rate of inflation in Poland. In view of what awaits us in 1991—the consequences of the continuing devaluation of the koruna, stagnation and a slump in production, the collapse of the CEMA market and its conversion to free currencies, the creation of new social costs (restitution, unemployment benefits, ecology, and so on), and, last but not least, the consequences of the so far unresolved crisis in the Middle East—it is rather difficult today to make a reliable forecast for inflation next year. However, it will obviously be high; instead of increasing by one percent, it will increase by 10 percent. Instead of inflation, we will have hyperinflation.

So far, it is not envisaged that the center will intervene and take important stabilization measures which would significantly and effectively reduce the possibility of such a hypothesis. Therefore, today it is necessary to deal with the influence of such inflation on the other macroeconomic quantities, first and foremost, on the currency in circulation, that is, on deposits, credit, and interest and on the population's savings in general.

It is certainly possible to concur in the view that savings are the basis for a healthy currency. Without them it would be impossible to provide credit which is the life blood of the economy and the material foundation for development. Under our conditions it is also the material foundation for the intended privatization of state owned property. It is possible to provide credit, but only at the risk of excessive financial emissions representing uncovered money which will only lead to intensifying the already considerable global imbalance with all its negative phenomena, that is, a general shortage of material values, a loss of economic criteria, and the actual collapse of the market.

Savings in the CSFR are not, and never have been, great. At the end of July the population's deposits amounted to 287 billion korunas. Of this amount, long-term deposits accounted for just under 60 percent. This comes to almost 19,000 korunas per capita which is relatively much less than the norm in neighboring advanced states. At the same time, the situation has worsened this year; deposits are barely increasing and the rate of savings has fallen to 2.8 percent and is the lowest for 11 years.

In view of the above-mentioned accelerating inflation, it is only a matter of time until panic breaks out among depositors. This panic will be associated with the attempt to close deposit accounts at all costs. Of course, this will probably destroy our not quite fully operational financial market. It is impossible to foresee the consequences of this today.

Of course, inflation is not an unknown phenomenon even in rich Western countries. Today it mostly manifests itself to a much lesser extent in these countries than it does in our country. However, it is normally and flexibly kept in check by the kind of interest policy which guarantees savers a three to four percent return on their deposits over and above the increase in prices; of course, this is an element of the market economy. For example, in today's FRG, where there is an average annual increase in prices of three percent, deposits made for a period longer than three months yield interest amounting to 8.5 percent, in France inflation is 3.5 percent and the interest rate is 9.7 percent, in Switzerland inflation is 6 percent and the interest rate is eight percent, in Japan inflation is 2.9 percent and the interest rate is 7.5 percent, and so on. Even the Polish National Bank, in relation to prices development, recently increased its basic rate of interest from 34 to 43 percent.

Unfortunately, in our country the situation is completely different and so far our monetary policy has not, in

essence, reacted to current development. Not long ago the Czechoslovak State Bank increased its discount rate, but only to a mere seven percent. This creates conditions in which the depository financial institutions (first and foremost, state savings banks) on average only give their clients a 3.3 percent nominal yield. New and higher rates are introduced sporadically, but by rather cumbersomely expanding other peripheral types of savings with more advantageous interest rates which resolves almost nothing apart from the fact that a lot of extra—and to a certain extent superfluous—work is associated with this in the savings banks themselves. Of course, only in this way is it possible to maintain unrealistically low credit interest rates, restricted to a limit of 13 percent, in the given conditions.

Therefore, a fundamental reevaluation of our banking system's current approach to economic reality is on the agenda. Whether we like it or not, the level of inflation and its acceleration make a fundamental change in credit policy necessary. It is necessary to increase and make flexible all basic interest rates (for example, interest rates on long-term deposits should at least be hovering around 20 percent today and they should increase in proportion to the rate of inflation). Naturally, this will immediately result in an increase in credit rates; however, such is the logic of development in a market economy. Money will become expensive, which can only have the requisite restrictive effect on the recovering koruna. Reform and our national economy cannot get by without this cardinal prerequisite.

Havel Meets Media Representatives

LD1311031690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] President of the Republic Vaclav Havel met directors-general of the state media Petr Uhl, Jiri Kanturek, and Frantisek Pavlicek in the CTK building today. Rudolf Zeman, editor in chief of the LIDOVE NOVINY newspaper, was also present.

The main point on the agenda were preparations of the laws on the media and the difficulties emerging during creating these laws.

The political situation in Czechoslovakia, the oncoming Paris top-level meeting of the CSCE, and U.S. President George Bush's visit to our country, among other issues, were discussed.

Sacher Criticizes Situation in New Secret Service

AU1211133790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Nov 90 p 3

[Excerpt from an interview with former Interior Minister Richard Sacher by Jan Bartacek; place and date not given, in the "We Have Read..." column—reprinted from Issue No. 44 of the weekly MLADY SVET]

[Text] [Bartacek] How do you view the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy [the successor organization to the secret police]?

[Sacher] With great misgivings and anxiety. The concentration of power there is so immense that not even the former State Security Corps [StB] availed itself of such power. The people coming to serve there do not have the necessary education, except for former StB members. My feeling is that it is some kind of a club of cronies. These people occupy the most sensitive nerves of the power structure, collecting salaries that do not correspond to their qualification, not to mention the fact that this office is not subjected to any control whatsoever. What is going on there? Does anyone know? What are the results of what they do? How many spies have they caught; it is rumored that this country is teeming with spies. Why does this office, about which [its director] Mr. Muller claims that it will work on the basis of reports published in the media, need specialists in observation, in the installation of eavesdropping devices, and so forth? I would say that something is simply fishy here. I fear lest one day our "democracy" pay for this club, but it will be too late then.

[Bartacek] What would you do if you still occupied the post of minister of interior?

[Sacher] I would immediately set this office apart from the Ministry of Interior and place it under strong parliamentary control so that the Federal Government, the governments of the republics, and the president would have authority over it. I would immediately recall from this office all former StB members and would give all of them the chance to make use of their uncontested and useful qualifications in the uniforms of the Public Security Corps. It really is absurd when members of an StB component work in such a sensitive place which, on a contractual basis, maintained very close working contacts with the intelligence service of a foreign power—the KGB. I believe that no other state in the world would commit such a mistake. I presented this proposal in parliament last month but deputies for the Civic Forum and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia were opposed.

Interior Minister Presents New Police Law

AU1311173890 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

["(nel)"-signed report: "Service Instead of Instrument of Power"]

[Excerpt] Prague—In view of the fundamental changes in society after 17 November 1989, it is necessary to significantly modify the character of the police in this state. The draft of a new law on the police security corps has already been drawn up. Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos presented it to the parliament's defense and security affairs committees yesterday.

According to the minister, the Federal Government intended to submit the draft to parliament in the first quarter of next year. Because the situation requires the passing of a new law as soon as possible, however, a group of deputies took the initiative to submit the draft [instead of the government]. This draft has already been approved by three Slovak National Council committees and is currently being debated in the committees of the Czech parliament. Members of the defense and security affairs committees received the draft only on the eve of their session, which is why they endorsed the proposal of Deputy Michal Maly (Civic Forum) that they devote themselves to the philosophy of the draft and that they return to its individual provisions next week.

According to Minister Langos, the legislation being submitted proceeds from harmony between the activity of the police corps and the security policy of the CSFR Government. The principle of a uniform National Security Corps from the viewpoint of its activity, organization, and management is being abandoned. The new legislation enshrines the rights and duties of policemen directly in the law (in the past they used to be regulated by various decrees). The draft law also specifies more narrowly the conditions for enlisting the services of other bodies, particularly the Army, to execute the tasks of the police force.

The debate concerned, among other things, ways of changing the entire character of the police, which should no longer be an instrument of power and repression but a service to the public. This is why Deputy Radomil Ropek (Civic Forum), for example, proposed that the law include provisions on satisfaction in the event of an evidently unwarranted police action against a citizen. [passage omitted]

OF Denies Plans To Discredit People's Party

AU1411094090

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 10 November on page 1 carries a 600-word interview with Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Forum [OF], by an "em"-signed LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE correspondent, entitled "Finding Common Language." The place and date of the interview, which deals with the current local election campaign, are not given.

Klaus is first asked to respond to the "signals we are getting from some places in the Czech Republic" of a "misinformation campaign" conducted by OF groups against the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL]. As the interviewer points out, CSL candidates are being accused of "clericalism" and of being "KGB or StB" (State Security) agents, without having a chance to defend themselves.

Klaus replies that this is the first time he has heard about this and assures the interviewer that "the OF is not interested in anything of this kind." He affirms that the OF wants to conduct a "fair" election campaign and that he is not aware of a single case of violation of this principle by the OF.

The interviewer goes on to say that LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE "received information to the effect that some sort of a list with 12 to 15 names of CSL functionaries and LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE journalists has been prepared for the communal elections, who are to be publicly defamed for various reasons." In his reply Klaus reiterates that "I do not know of anyone who would like to launch such a compromising campaign." He also tells the interviewer that many such lists circulate in the country at present and that they also include the names of some OF representatives. The CSL should not therefore "consider this problem in a one-sided way."

In conclusion, Klaus is asked about the prospects of cooperation between the OF and the CSL at the local level. Klaus replies that there has been too much centralism in Czechoslovakia already and that the OF leadership is not going to "order about" its lower elements. The formations of coalitions is, therefore, up to the local OF and CSL organizations.

42 Parties Compete in Czech Local Elections

AU1311130890 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 9 Nov 90 p 1

[CTK report: "42 Parties and Movements Compete; Resignation of the Chairman of the Czech Electoral Commission Has Not Been Accepted"]

[Text] Prague—A total of 42 political parties and movements will seek victory in 14,865 polling districts in 5,766 communities of the Czech Republic in the communal elections on 24 November. The number of coalitions totals 833, to which one must add independent candidates and their associations. This was stated by Jaroslav Sirek, director of a Czech Statistical Office department, in Prague yesterday.

According to Jaroslav Sirek, there are 146,730 persons on the lists of candidates, 20 percent of whom are women. The largest number of candidates—almost one-quarter of the total number—has been fielded by Civic Forum [OF]. OF candidates are followed by independent candidates (32,806), candidates of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (30,170), and candidates of the Czechoslovak People's Party (18,071).

It arose from yesterday's session of the Czech Electoral Commission that Czech National Council Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova had asked the commission to furnish background information for screenings of all candidates to local representative bodies. Czech Electoral Commission Chairman Jiri Barton called upon the district electoral commissions to make the relevant data available. He did so without the knowledge of the Czech Electoral Commission, which did not approve of his conduct even subsequently. Jiri Barton therefore announced his resignation from the post of commission chairman, which the

commission did not accept. At the same time the commission agreed that the problem of screenings would be consulted by members of the Czech Electoral Commission within the framework of their political parties and movements and that the whole issue would be closed at the commission's extraordinary meeting on Tuesday, 13 November.

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 10 November on page 3 carries a 400-word "em"-signed report on the above news conference. The LIDOVE NOVINY report mentions that in about 50 small communities the local elections will not be held on 24 November as scheduled because they did not submit a list of at least seven candidates, the minimum number required by law. The "probable" date of elections in these communities is 15 December.]

Communist Party District Secretariat Set on Fire

AU1211131190

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 5 November on page 1 carries a 200-word "kry"-signed report entitled "Fire in the Building of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia District Committee in Prague-9." On 6 November, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word CTK report on investigations into the fire.

The 5 November report notes that on Saturday, 3 November, the opening day of the 18th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Congress, an unknown perpetrator "deliberately set fire" to the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia District Committee Secretariat in Prague-9. A subsequent explosion is said to have destroyed two floors of the building, including premises belonging to "other social organizations." The damage to the CPCZ's property alone is estimated at 500,000 korunas. The report notes that a similar attempt to set the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia Secretariat in Prague-9 on fire was registered in June, immediately after the parliamentary elections. The fire had been "contained in time" at that time, which is why it had not caused any damage.

The 6 November report deals with investigations into the fire. It notes that the fire was set at three different places with the help of heaps of paper, which was the same method that had been caused in June. The arsonist is also said to have used the "same method of breaking into the building." The RUDE PRAVO report calls it "conspicuous" that nothing had been stolen, even though the secretariat was equipped with valuable articles including a personal computer, a television set, and electric typewriters. As the report points out, the communists in Prague-9 not only "lost the roof above their head" but the fire also destroyed all documents, records, and material for the upcoming local election campaign.

More Than 10,000 Students Jobless

AU1311142990 Prague CTK in English 1420 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 11 (CTK)—Some 10,000 secondary school and university graduates were unemployed in Czechoslovakia on September 30, 1990, according to a report distributed during yesterday's session of the Czech and Moravian Student Parliament here.

This number is believed to have grown higher.

New Newspaper Published in Brno

AU1311142890 Prague PRACE in Czech 9 Nov 90 p 3

["mn"-signed report: "The First DEMOKRAT"]

[Excerpt] Brno—The first issue of the independent daily DEMOKRAT [Democrat] was published in Brno yesterday. The new daily, whose chief editor is Jiri Sestak, is published in the Consus publishing house. For the time being, DEMOKRAT has a print run of 30,000 copies but there are plans to increase the print run to 100,000 copies and to distribute the newspaper statewide. [passage omitted]

Outcome of Slovak Government Crisis Viewed

AU1211124390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 5 Nov 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Will There Not Be a Repetition?; Lessons From the Government Crisis for the Government"]

[Text] The government crisis triggered by Vladimir Meciar's resignation ended exactly as foreseen by the prime minister in his scenario. He actually started to implement this scenario even before raising for the first time in public the demand for the resignation of Anton Andras from the post of minister of interior. At first glance this [the outcome of the dispute between the Slovak prime minister and the interior minister] represents a clear victory for the prime minister and the citizen may rightly ask whether it would not have been in the interest of the domestic political situation in Slovakia had the main coalition partners settled the dispute over the person of the minister of interior behind the political scenes. It is a fact that the public had been drawn into a conflict which harmed the prestige of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and, in the end, had the required outcome anyhow. What was even more harmful, however, was that this conflict inspired a return to the obsolete political methods of the so-called meetings democracy, as well as to petitions and other pressure actions which do not belong to a democratically organized society.

The solution to the crisis itself is not to the detriment of the KDH because it has, in fact, helped to stabilize the movement's positions in the police and security apparatus. It is not just the seat of the minister of interior

[which is now provisionally held by KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky which matters here but also the post of the deputy minister of interior responsible for the police. Let us add for the sake of completeness that the KDH also has its man in a significant post in the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy and that a KDH deputy chairs the Slovak National Council's Defense and Security Affairs Committee. The Christian Democrats are thus gaining a major power standing which, however, should not be a reason for the politicization of the police.

Meciar's resignation was an act of pressure aimed at removing from the cabinet a minister whom the prime minister did not consider competent in his post. The question logically arises whether such a situation cannot recur. It is a quite normal phenomenon in democratic countries for the heads of government to recall ministers with whom they are dissatisfied. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, for example, has already replaced dozens of ministers without anyone questioning her right to choose the members of her cabinet. Her "sole" advantage compared with Meciar is that she does not have to consider the opinion of a coalition partner.

The first government crisis in Slovakia has taught us that [Slovak] politicians are not mature enough to cope with such situations. The replacement of Minister Andras could have been carried out in a routine way and free of defamations, which have not encountered a great deal of understanding in the civic public. There was no serious reason that forced the prime minister to seek the public's support in this matter. It would be useful in this context if a thought were given to how the mechanism of cooperation in the government coalition should operate in the future—and, in particular, the system of dealing with collision situations, situations that are brought forth by everyday life and by the complex nature of the period in which the Slovaks are ruled by this government.

Meciar on Party Coalition Talks, Republics

AU1311090290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 5 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on Slovak Television on 3 November: "We Will Retain a Common State"]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens, when I was talking to you last week I said I would take one day off. Later, it looked as if I was to take substantially more days off than that. The situation that arose was relatively complicated. Yet, when solving this situation no one could ignore the fact that you had expressed enormous support for me. Even those who thought that everything should have ended differently than it did could not ignore your positions and opinions, nor could they disregard your possible reaction to a different result. The situation and its solution was influenced by certain things which even I did not expect. On the eve of the coalition talks, all the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement and Democratic Party ministers from the Slovak Republic Government met and unequivocally declared that they were willing to work only in a government with Meciar as prime minister. This was another important thing. Of course, all this led to the fact that the VPN movement and the Democratic Party were able to unequivocally formulate their stance during the coalition talks.

The coalition was preserved and some agreements were made. These agreements include the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] putting forward the next candidate for the position of interior minister, but that this candidate be appointed by a commission. My suggestion that he be without a party affiliation did not pass. The KDH demanded that it also be allowed to put forward the deputy [interior minister] for the department of public security. The agreement was that if we were to talk about it, then it would also be necessary to discuss why the existing deputy was unsatisfactory, and if he were, then a new deputy would have to be selected by a commission and not put forward by a single party. A part of the agreement also was that the parties would stop all the aggressive propaganda against others and that they would search for better cooperation in the future. This part of the agreement was violated by the KDH a few hours after it had been concluded. The parties also agreed that they would make corrections to their mutual contacts and debates to avoid serious shocks within the government and to avoid situations in which the prime minister would constantly be obliged to intervene, using his authority and political existence, to correct possible mistakes and errors. The parties are aware of the fact that I also made other suggestions about changes in the government.

As far as other questions are concerned, a few conclusions can be drawn. Of course, democracy, which is now in its birth, is not firmly fixed yet. We are making our way to democracy while making a lot of mistakes and errors, yet we also have achieved positive results. A way of coexistence of various political parties and associations is being sought. It has become apparent that the government must establish broader contacts not only within the coalition but also with all other political parties and movements. It has also become apparent that each party and each political movement must shape their own form and their leading personalities and that they must search for ways to assert themselves in political life.

It is very nice to fight under the banner of a party, yet the manner in which the fight is fought must correspond to new circumstances. We can still remember one party which, not so long ago, was raising its banner so high and shouted so loudly....that it did not notice on what they were stepping. As far as the Meciar-Andras dispute is concerned, I want to say that, admittedly, there were two protagonists in this dispute, yet, first and foremost, it was a fight of two ideological concepts for the development of the state administration and management systems, in which Andras represented a certain extreme. An extreme which, in fact, represented the intertwining of

the state affairs with the party life. National committees will perish, new elements are being slowly established, everything is in turmoil. We are recording a wave of discontent and errors. The State Security Service and also other bodies are in confusion.

Many have asked me whether there was also a personal aspect in this dispute. I would lie if I said there was not. The personal aspect was that there were some materials—or something similar—prepared that were supposed to present me as a criminal or to prove that I had been a KGB agent and that, as such, I cannot be active in public and political life. The chairman of the Slovak National Council also asked me to explain the allegations that in 1956 I established contacts with the Soviet intelligence service through Andropov. The matter had been taken seriously until I drew attention to the fact that in 1956 I was a pupil in primary school, and despite the fact that I do not think highly of the KGB. I believe that they do not recruit pupils from primary schools—and they could not foresee that I would become a prime minister, either. There were more things like that. The question was whether one should have opposed them. Yes, one should! There was enormous pressure, external as well as internal—that is, in addition to many external problems we had to solve internal problems as well. This is not a simple matter for anyone in any position in our Slovak Republic. I have to thank you, citizens, that I can still talk to you. It was also your decision, it was our joint fight, and it is our joint result. It will be necessary for every party, however, to ponder what our future life should be. I do not think that the coalition would survive another similar shock.

The president visited Slovakia last week. It was a very important visit which followed up on our meeting in Slavkov near Brno. There was no skirmish in Slavkov; the Napoleonic wars did not evoke any reminiscences; nothing similar happened there. The basic question during my talks with the president and during our talks in Slavkov was the question of the common state of Czechs and Slovaks. A proposal has been made in Slavkov that there be a referendum on this matter. I was against this proposal, and it did not pass. Our stance was very clear—we were in favor of a coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks in one common state. We have confirmed that the absolute majority of Slovaks wishes to preserve the common state, yet that it also wants the organs of the Slovak Republic—the Slovak National Council—to have a maximum say in the matters connected with social life in Slovakia. We want a new arrangement of our relations to be able to live a richer life. At the same time, we have also said that if the Czech side did not want such a coexistence, then we would be very sorry, yet we would be able to accept such a position. The conclusion was that our joint coexistence in a common state is in the interest of both states.

Another serious question in our talks were the competencies of the republics. Three prime ministers will meet tomorrow to have their final say into the matter, because the ministers have not agreed on all questions. An interesting question comes into being. The Czech and Slovak Governments made an agreement and they want to present joint, yet in many aspects differing positions to the Federal Government. We defend the interests of the republics and by doing so we also defend the interests of the federation, yet we are against those who believe that it is necessary to defend the interests of the federation first and only then to decide what will be entrusted to the republics. From this ensues our right to intervene into the social and economic processes in Slovakia—the possibilities of such an intervention are limited today and we learn about important measures, like price changes and similar measures, only after they have been introduced. Such a situation is unacceptable. During the talks with the president we discussed all possible subjects. There also was a moment when we were resting, the president and I, and musicians came in and played violin, and we mentioned that Slovak songs can express everything that can be expressed. Someone from the president's convoy asked me whether Slovak songs also cover the journey of Slovaks toward Europe. I assured them that they certainly do. When we were analyzing this subject, I sang to the tune of "When a Slovak left his home for alien countries" the following words: Goodbye father, goodbye mother, sister, brother, I have to embark for my European journey. When I sang the second verse—your children are scattered all over Europe, about the Slovak country they do not care for—then the whole convoy admitted that Slovaks were well prepared for the journey to Europe and that they had been prepared for it for a long time.

Dear fellow citizens, thank you for your attention tonight and for your support, which I have felt strongly during those two difficult two weeks. Thank you.

SNS Leadership Critics Set Up Platform

AU1311124290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 9 Nov 90 p 2

["NO"-signed report: "Criticism of Radical Populists; Statement by the Democratic Platform in the Slovak National Party"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday the [Slovak National Party] weekly SLOVENSKY NAROD published a statement by the Democratic Platform in the Slovak National Party, conceived as an appeal to all members and followers of the Slovak National Party to support efforts at the party's return to its original orientation.

The document was signed by Vladimir Miskovsky, chief editor of SLOVENSKY NAROD and deputy to the Slovak National Council, as well as by other deputies for the Slovak National Party and its founding members.

The statement calls attention to the fact that the Slovak National Party went into the elections as a political force whose program was to assert national interests by democratic means. A populist current has, however, gradually taken hold of the party, which wants to base the Slovak National Party's policy almost exclusively on

emotions. It compensates for its own lack of concepts with unacceptable statements and an unacceptable vocabulary; moreover, it is aligning itself with political radicalism. This arouses the public's distrust and the fear that the Slovak National Party wants to solve Slovakia's problems in a style reminiscent of the Hlinka guards [World War II Slovak state police].

The aim of the Democratic Platform in the Slovak National Party is to maintain an influential nationally oriented party, to halt the intelligentsia's drifting away from the Slovak National Party, and not to permit it to become a party of the totalitarian type. The proponents of the Democratic Platform are also turning to the Czech nation, asking it to understand that the Slovaks' emancipatory efforts are not directed against the Czechs.

Christian Democratic Leader on Slovak Nationalism

AU1311142490 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 7 Nov 90 p 13

[Excerpt from a speech by Jan Cernogursky at the Christian Democratic Movement Congress reprinted from SLOVENSKY DENNIK No. 172 of 6 November]

[Text] From the birth of our movement until now, we have held constant discussions among ourselves as well as with outsiders about the national program of our movement. The current political situation in Slovakia shows that the national issue remains the most important one in Slovakia. It is more important than foreign investments, the economic reform, or a membership in international organizations. Our movement was born, grew, and exists as a national movement. Interests of Slovakia are of primary importance to us, and we want to gain for Slovakia a position in Europe at the level of autonomy.

We are constantly searching for opportunities to achieve this goal, and we are adjusting our national policy to the existing possibilities. Our most important aim is to unite Slovaks on the road toward our national goal, because without firm unity we cannot achieve any national goal in Slovakia. We can unite Slovaks only if we present them with a tangible achievable program. Producing radical slogans which cannot be realized leads sooner or later to an internal weakening of the movement, division, and internal clashes. The latest illustration of these risks are the internal conflicts in the Slovak National Party. In forming the national policy we are starting from the thesis that sudden autonomy is not possible, and it would not even be in the interest of Slovakia. It would not be possible because a majority of Slovakia does not want it, we would not be accepted abroad, and it would lead to great economic and political unrests within Slovakia. Slovakia must gradually expand its jurisdictions. The competence of the federal bodies should be guided by the principle of subsidiaries, i.e., they should have only such jurisdiction as cannot be from practical or other reasons effected at the level of republics, or even lower. An improvement in the position of Slovakia can only be achieved under the conditions of internal and external peace. Certainly, we cannot have bitter internal strife over the legitimacy of the recently elected parliament and government, get into a deep rift with the Czech Republic regarding the competence laws, to battle with Hungary and Hungarians living in Slovakia regarding the language law, and ignore Poland at the same time. This way, we cannot achieve any of our goals; we would only waste another historic chance. Radical slogans, however, without any regard to the plausibility of their realization or to the interests of others, lead to these profound discords. Our movement is guided by fundamental Christian reasons when it endeavors to coexist with all others. At the same time we are aware of our responsibility for all the consequences of our policy.

These are the reasons for our deputies in the Slovak National Council to vote for the moderate version of the language law. We are trying to maintain a firm government, and therefore we are quick to suppress any controversies with our coalition partners. Our goal is a long-term one, for that is the only way to reach it. One of our goals is also the inclusion of Slovakia in the family of European nations so we would have among them our own seat, and our own star on the European emblems. We intend to achieve this goal by reinforcing the competence of the Slovak bodies, entering Slovakia in international institutions, and by developing the Slovak economy. We want to achieve this in a manner that would not at any time endanger our own safety or that of the entire republic. Until we achieve this goal, however, we wish to live in a common state with the fraternal Czech nation for which we are its natural Slavic base.

The defense of the right of all people of Slovakia to express their opinions on all aspects of the Slovak future is a part of our national policy. On the other hand, we expect from them that they will do so peacefully, in a cultured manner, and especially without any form of violence. Under these circumstances, we defend citizens' right to organize public demonstrations in city squares as well as to appear in the mass media.

From the federal bodies we expect that they will realize the political difference between the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The federal bodies must comprehend that a national concept exists in Slovakia just as in the other parts of the republic. The national concept in Slovakia does not contradict democracy or even the defense of human rights. The national concept in Slovakia expresses the natural feeling of solidarity among members of a nation.

Carnogursky Rejects Ties With Slovak Nationalists

AU1211133390 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 6 Nov 90 p 1

[Interview with Christian Democratic Union Chairman Jan Carnogursky by Dusan Petrak; place and date not

given: "Onward Without Beating the Retreat"—first paragraph is SMENA introduction]

[Text] Even before the Meciar-Andras dispute it was beginning to be whispered that the Christian Democratic Union [KDH] was flirting with the Slovak National Party [SNS] as it might with a future coalition partner. Recently, these whispers have become louder and much in this regard was also implied at the KDH assembly in Kosice. Jan Carnogursky was again elected KDH chairman at the assembly.

[Petrak] A couple of days ago you gave an interview in which you denied that the KDH was heading toward a coalition with the SNS. Have you changed your opinion following the Meciar-Andras dispute?

[Carnogursky] I have not changed my opinion; however, on the basis of this dispute, we will probably have to reexamine our position from the point of view that we will have to deal with the broader political scene which now exists in Slovakia. This means taking a closer look at the current political attitudes of, let us say, the SNS. This is to make sure that—on the one hand—if a similar situation to the one with Andras is repeated in the future and—on the other hand—if there should be certain developments within the SNS, we will be better placed. I have in mind a break up between Moric and the deputies. We would have to ascertain what this means for the SNS's points of view.

[Petrak] At a recent public meeting of the so-called Free Block in Bratislava's Trade Union House, SNS Chairman V. Moric stated in connection with a possible SNS-KDH coalition that he had offered you this alternative and that it was now up to you. What will you tell him?

[Carnogursky] I met with Mr. Moric and I spoke with him the same way I speak with representatives of other parties. I am not planning to take another step. It is true that there are regular meetings and conversations, especially in parliament. This affair is also discussed at these meetings. However, we are not planning any other steps.

[Petrak] SNS Chairman V. Moric recently showed me a table in Bratislava's Klasterni Vinarna [Cloister Wine Bar] at which, apparently, you two often meet....

[Carnogursky] It would be more exact to say at which we once met. V. Moric is remembering our first conversation.

[Petrak] Very harsh words and invectives targeted against your coalition partner, Prime Minister V. Meciar, were heard at the assembly. In your speech there was also an unflattering reference to the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement. This has made me think that the government coalition's ship is beginning to sink.

[Carnogursky] The government coalition's ship should not sink because this would mean—at least—difficult times for Slovakia. Therefore, we have retreated to a certain extent from our original point of view that Andras will not resign. We are continuing to stand behind him, but we agreed to the compromise that Andras would submit his resignation so that the government coalition's ship could stay afloat as long as possible. I can say on behalf of the KDH that we intend to continue in this endeavor. However, if the same thing should be repeated in the future, our retreat would cease to be functional and the government coalition's ship would really sink.

[Petrak] Should we understand this to mean that you do not intend to retreat further?

[Carnogursky] It is impossible to put it like that. In politics one should never say NEVER. However, this recent affair has considerably lessened our capacity for retreating.

[Petrak] Although the chairman and delegates disagreed in their remarks about other concessions, the end of the assembly implied many things. No mention was made in their resolution to the prospects for a continued common course of action with the VPN and the Democratic Party.

Interview With New Slovak Party Leader Reported

AU1311161890 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Nov 90 p 3

[Text] Yesterday's PRACA, the Slovak trade union daily, publishes an interview with A. Marko, chairman of the preparatory committee of the newly founded Authentic Party in Slovakia [Autenticka strana na Slovensku], on the party's aims and plans. A. Marko endorsed, among other things, the enactment of the Slovak language. As a member of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation (in the years 1968-70 he chaired the foundation's committee for nationality questions) he believes that the adoption of the coalition's version of the language law is no great tragedy and that the protests should end. He said that now it is necessary to concentrate on consistent control of the law's practical application.

Antifascists File Suit Against Stefan Pazdera

AU1311143990

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 10 November on page 3 carries a 600-word interview with Major General Jozef Brunovsky, chairman of the Slovak Association of Anti-Fascist Fighters, by Peter Misur, entitled "We Are Filing a Lawsuit." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Brunovsky announces that his organization has filed a lawsuit against Stefan Pazdera, secretary of the Presov District Committee of the Confederation of the Political Prisoners of Slovakia, because he had "offended all partisans." Brunovsky stresses that the partisans had been liberating their homeland from fascism and that their struggle must be seen in the context of the overall "combat activity during World War II." Brunovsky also

points to some "suspicious" circumstances concerning Pazdera's person. He says that it is unusual that Pazdera was released from prison in 1954, only three years after receiving a 16-year sentence, and suspects that this was because he promised to collaborate with the secret police. According to Brunovsky, there is also "lack of clarity" about Pazdera's activities after his release from prison when he lived under an assumed name.

Charges Against WW II Partisans, Husak Filed

AU1311143390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 8 Nov 90 p 11

["NO, bi"-signed report: "Slovak Katyn Forests; Criminal Proceedings Initiated"]

[Text] Presov—The secretary of the Presov District Committee of the Confederation of Political Prisoners of Slovakia initiated, on the basis of assembled evidence, criminal proceedings against individuals and armed groups for acts of terrorism, threat to human lives, and mass murders committed in the years 1943 to 1945. He filed the charges with the CSFR Prosecutor General's Office.

The initiation letter cites 14 cases of actual liquidation of citizens of Slovak, German, and Ukrainian nationalities, as well as the mass grave of 72 victims at the Frauenberg cemetery in Banska Stiavnica. The witnesses of this tragedy are still alive and their names are available in the editorial office of [the Christian Democratic Movement daily] SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Bratislava. According to the letter, there are seven mass graves with 116 victims in Sklabina, including members of a German military mission who were killed by shots to the head and not in exchanges of fire as was claimed. At Handlova there are four mass graves with 30 victims and the site of a fifth grave with 130 victims remains to be located. In the village of Sklenna there is supposed to be a grave with 200 victims and 68 Ukrainian refugees also found their place of final rest in a mass grave, at Tomasovce.

Between 80 and 120 German residents of Dobsina were massacred while fleeing and were buried at Sedske Sance near Prerov. In the area of the Slanske Mountains, near the villages of Petrovce and Hermanovce, there are two mass graves with over 100 victims. After the outbreak of the Slovak National Uprising, an internment camp for 850 more prisoners was set up at the Slovenska Lupca Castle, supposedly at Gustav Husak's order. There are 12 known cases of young women having been raped and killed in this camp. Before the occupation of Banska Bystrica, the castle was to be mined and blown up. Fortunately this did not happen. The accusations involved are, in general, extremely serious and, if they prove to be true, they would cast a completely new light on the history of the partisan movement in Slovakia, as well as on the history of the Slovak National Uprising itself.

Slovak Minister Analyzes State of Economy

AU1211142790 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 8 Nov 90 p 3

[Article by Rudolf Filkus, Slovak Republic minister for economic strategy: "Flashpoints of the Critical State of the Economy"]

[Text] The changing social and economic conditions in our country are connected chiefly with the coming into being of the market mechanism. They are characterized by changes in the behavior of people and enterprises, by the practices of the administrative command management being pushed out, and by rapid changes connected with the temporary winding down of some activities and with the insufficient enforcement of needed activities. The destabilization of the economy gets its impulses, in particular, from the slow gradual extinction of the bureaucratic methods of the centrally planned economy and from the underdeveloped elements of the market mechanism.

The international conditions have also changed dramatically and have an immediate impact on our economy. The opening of borders, the partial liberalization of foreign trade, and other steps toward liberalization on our part, as well as a certain extent of protectionism and other impediments to entry onto foreign markets, have had a direct influence on the emergence of hitherto unsolved problems.

External Flashpoints of Crisis

Mutual economic relations among CEMA states have been strained for a rather long time and do not conform with the requirements of individual partners. The existing system of bilateral accounting is quickly falling apart and the present economic situation does not hold out the promise that the declining trend of trade exchange will be halted in the short term. On the contrary, this trend is more likely to continue. The foreign trade turnover among CEMA states has dropped to 40 to 50 percent of last year's level when expressed in freely convertible currencies, in a situation when the majority of CEMA countries, including the CSFR, have not yet reached the nadir of production.

A dominant factor of destabilization, one which unexpectedly complicates the CSFR's transition toward a market economy and integration into the world economy, is the crisis in the Persian Gulf and its consequences. The increase in crude oil prices has an evidently negative impact not only on the CSFR but also on the economic situation of all other countries of central and eastern Europe, which failed to sufficiently diversify their energy resources in the past. It is estimated that, with oil prices at $30 per barrel, these states will spend up to 50 percent of their earnings in freely convertible currencies on oil imports, thereby substantially jeopardizing investments into their reform programs.

An indirect impact of the crisis in the Persian Gulf is the slowdown of economic growth in the advanced countries

of the West, which accounts for deteriorating conditions for integration into the world economy. Even though it is possible to reckon with certain compensation as an expression of recognition for Czechoslovakia's attitude to the crisis, the effect of this compensation should not be overestimated. We must therefore prepare ourselves for a more marked deterioration of the external balance, particularly for a rise in our foreign debt.

As far as the oil requirements of the Slovak economy are concerned, deliveries of under 6.3 million tonnes [per year] are not bearable. At this level of oil imports, it is possible to estimate the production decline in individual branches as follows: chemistry—23 percent; construction materials industry—13.2 percent; power industry—10.9 percent; transportation—9.9 percent; leather working industry—9.3 percent; textile industry—7.1 percent; glass and ceramics industry—6.9 percent; nonferrous metallurgy—5.6 percent; and agriculture—5.6 percent.

Were the price of oil to be only $10 higher per barrel than the optimistic forecast of $30 per barrel, our economy would be getting close to a situation when the entire export revenues of the CSFR in the next two years would only cover the needed energy and raw material imports. Flashpoints of crisis can also arise as a result of our declining ability to purchase other raw materials, particularly iron ore, natural gas, and cotton.

A solution to the consequences of the oil shock must be sought at two levels:

— at a statewide level, which concerns mainly the method of acquiring new resources, the distribution of products, and their pricing;

—at the level of the republics, which concerns mainly the regulation of the use of oil and oil products from the viewpoint of minimizing negative consequences and safeguarding the basic needs of the economy during the period of crisis.

In view of the interdependence of the republican economies, consensus between republican and federal bodies would be inevitable in both cases.

Internal Flashpoints of Crisis

The extraordinary sensitivity of our economy to changes in the external environment is combined in a complex manner with the changing internal conditions. The inertia of material and institutional linkages is smaller than originally assumed. The first indications of foreign competitors' entry into our economy create many unpredictable consequences. As for the manufacturing sphere itself, particularly machine building and electrical engineering, it is apparent that Czechoslovak manufacturers are unable to cope with the harsh conditions of competition. They are facing a marketing crisis and the income situation of a number of enterprises is deteriorating significantly. The labor market is characterized by overemployment, particularly in the secondary sector. The number of people employed in industry and in the building sector is, relatively, about 50 percent higher than in Western countries. In professions such as health care, forestry, and other services, on the other hand, we have been experiencing an outflow of labor for higher earnings after the lifting of restrictions on travel. This labor drain could jeopardize the operation of some important services.

An acute negative phenomenon is the declining economic performance caused by the commenced structural rebuilding of the economy, by the disintegrating ties of cooperation, and by the insufficient conclusion and implementation of economic contracts. More than 40 industrial enterprises and one-half of all construction enterprises have stated that shortcomings in the implementation of contractual deliveries have intensified in the course of this year. This finds its expression in suppliers delaying their deliveries, arbitrarily cutting the agreed volume of deliveries, or failing to comply with the agreed range of deliveries. This is a consequence of the rapid collapse of the command system even before the market could start to fulfill its regulatory role and before a new economic policy could be formulated.

Another flashpoint of imbalance are the repercussions of adverse climatic conditions on the output of the agricultural-food industry complex. Materials of the Slovak Republic Ministry of Agriculture and Food show a 700,000 tonnes shortfall in the production of cereals. Projected into the production of pigs for slaughter, this means a production cut by 190,000 tonnes, which is 63 percent of the projected procurement. The harvest of sugar beets, too, is expected to fall short by about one-third, which represents a shortfall of 70,000 tonnes in the production of sugar.

The growth in food retail prices after 9 July 1990 has unsettled the market. This fact aggravates economic conditions in primary agricultural production and in the food processing industry. There is a growing distrust in the stability of the market among consumers, which leads to panic buying.

The following solutions offer themselves to the government:

—to split the shortfall in the production of cereals and feed crops within the framework of statewide resources, including the drawing on the federal contingency reserve fund if necessary;

—to deal with the negative financial repercussions with the help of the Slovak State Insurance Agency, through the provision of advance allocations [preddavky] as a compensation for damage, and to discuss with the banking sphere the provision of a bridging loan up to the end of 1990.

To tackle the selected flashpoints of crisis outlined above, to forestall the possibility of the emergence of further flashpoints of crisis, and to deal with their possibly growing influence on the operation of the

economy of the Slovak Republic, the government must inevitably set up an operative crisis management staff. This staff should be established by the relevant deputy premier of the Slovak Republic and be endowed with special powers. These powers should conform with the intended transition to a market economy and be in harmony with the course of the economic reform.

Slovak Finance Ministry on Slovak Economy in 1991

AU1311142390 Prague CTK in English 1749 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava Nov 9 (CTK)—The work on drafting a single tax system in Slovakia for next year has advanced most so far, Slovak Finance Ministry representatives said here today in reference to the financial aspects of Slovak economy.

They told a news conference that farmers, for instance, would return 50 percent in taxes to the state budget and other enterprises and joint-stock companies 55 percent of their profits.

In 1991 the liberalization of prices of goods will reflect higher prices of energy and fuels and devaluation of koruna. Low-income strata, i.e., families with many children, disabled and retired persons, will be compensated, the ministry officials said, adding that the upper limits of retail prices will be set in selected kinds of food.

The representatives said that the unsettled power-sharing problems between the Federal, and the Czech and the Slovak Governments, the progress of the economic reform as well as the recent devaluation of koruna and the expected liberalization of prices as from January 1, 1991 are reflected in the outlining of the financial aspects of economy in Slovakia for the year 1991.

Hungarian Minister's Remarks on Slovakia Criticized

AU1411075590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Nov 90 p 13

[Zuzana Rackova commentary: "Let Us Put Our Own House in Order First, Let Us Not Add Fuel to the Flames"—reprinted from CAS, daily of the Democratic Party, Issue No. 261]

[Text] Excuse me, Mr. Jeszensky, but I must set due bounds to your actions. I congratulate you on your country's admission into the Council of Europe but at the same time I must tell you that, in my opinion, you are one of those who add fuel to the flames of nationalism in Slovakia. Your comment that when admitting new members to the Council of Europe one should also consider compliance with the UN Charter on ethnic minorities and the obvious allusion to Slovakia and the frictions which arose here in connection with the approval of the language law would be very nice ideas, if your country itself set an example in this matter. Unfortunately, and I am speaking from personal experience, I am able to confirm the opposite.

A year ago I visited Bekescsaba which, as you know, is inhabited by Slovaks. I was moved when I heard their Slovak, the same melodious Slovak which I used to hear from my mother. But it hurt me when, once among themselves, they switched to Hungarian because they found it easier; when, out of fear of discrimination, they preferred to register themselves as Hungarians; and when I found out that, at their so-called Slovak schools, only two or three subjects were taught in their native tongue.

Mr. Jeszensky, I recognize the rights of ethnic minorities and I do not wish Hungarians living in Slovakia to experience the same fate as that suffered by our compatriots in Hungary. At the same time I beg you, however, to first put your own house in order before tidying up the neighbor's house and before recommending to us what to do and how to do it. If for no other reason than to avoid pouring fuel on flames which are already intense enough.

South African Foreign Minister Continues Talks

Botha, Dienstbier Renew Contacts

LD1411163990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, who is on a visit to Czechoslovakia, was received by Jiri Dienstbier, deputy federal prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

They agreed on an immediate revival of consular contacts between Czechoslovakia and the Republic of South Africa that were cut in 1963.

Botha Cites Reasons for Visit

MB1511101790 Johannesburg International Service in English 1100 GMT 14 Nov 90

[From the "Africa South" program]

[Text] South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha today became the first South African cabinet minister to visit Czechoslovakia. He was met at Ruzyne Airport outside Prague by Deputy Prime Minister Martin Palous. Angus Berg compiled this report for Africa South.

[Begin recording] [Berg] Mr. Botha left London yesterday afternoon on a visit to Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. Before leaving for Czechoslovakia, Mr. Botha said the visit was aimed at investigating areas of cooperation that were of mutual benefits to the two countries. Asked about the form of relations likely to be established between South Africa and Czechoslovakia, he said what mattered was what they had to offer each other in the field of trade and technology. Commenting on the visit as a whole, Mr. Botha said he would explore the possibility of establishing a basis for relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Why was he visiting these countries in particular?

[Botha] My government has great sympathy for the adaptation which they must make. In a certain sense we must make also an adaptation, but in many respects theirs is actually more painful, particularly when it comes to the economic system. We have an economic system which is based on a market orientated economy, they have not. We have a democracy, limited at present, which we need to extend, and this is what we intend doing. So, I think there is a common basis for wishing to understand each other's obstacles and problems. This is always a very good starting point for countries to get together—talk and develop relations. And, I foresee very useful relations between us and Central Europe, not only South Africa, but I believe the whole of southern Africa will benefit from new relations with these states.

[Berg] Do you intend asking the governments of these countries to drop sanctions against South Africa?

[Botha] Not at this stage. It remains a delicate question, so I say we are not making representations directly and categorically to the twelve European governments to lift sanctions. Our duty is to ensure that they have a proper understanding of the effects of sanctions, not only for South Africa, but for the whole region of southern Africa. So, my job is to make sure that our European friends understand the economic requirements, not only of South Africa, but all the states of southern Africa where there is hunger and famine, where there is poverty and ignorance and degradation. And unless we start the economic reconstruction soon without delay, millions of black people will pay the price, and our point of view is sanctions, as far as we are concerned, has gone. The few remaining pillars will be removed and we are committed to remove them at the earliest possible stage that our constitutional requirements demand from us.

[Berg] Mr. Botha will meet his counterpart Mr. Jiri Dienstbier later today and the Czechoslovakian president, Mr. Vaclev Havel, tomorrow. [end recording]

Foreign Ministry Reports on Hostages in Iraq

LD1211200390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Excerpts] After a one-week interval, newsmen today met Michael Zantovsky, press spokesman of the president of the republic, for a press briefing in Prague. Alena Millerova selected the following reports from the press conference. [passage omitted]

Newsmen were interested in the fate of the approximately 40 remaining Czechoslovak citizens who are a part of the originally more than (?500) and who are still being held unjustly in Iraq. The Foreign Ministry is making appropriate diplomatic moves in this respect. The situation is also complicated with regard to our claims toward Iraq. The point is that until President Husayn withdraws his troops from Kuwait, as is stipulated by the relevant UN Security Council resolutions, no trade at all with Iraq is possible. [passage omitted]

Iranian Minister Pays Working Visit 13 Nov

Meets Advisers on Oil Supplies

LD1311222890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Alexander Vondra and Richard Wagner, advisers to the president on foreign policy and economic policy, respectively, met Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Vaezi at Prague Castle today.

Vaezi informed the advisers on the Iranian offer to supply oil to the CSFR.

Vaezi also brought a message from Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to CSFR President Vaclav Havel.

Dienstbier, Vaezi Discuss Gulf

LD1411203190 Prague CTK in English 1729 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier met today with Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Vaezi.

Vaezi, who is head of an Iranian delegation for regular consultations with the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, spoke about what Iran is doing to contribute to the resolution of the crisis in the Persian Gulf. Both Dienstbier and Vaezi stressed their interest in deepening mutual contacts in all areas.

Defense Minister on CSFR Officers in Libya

AU1211132790 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Nov 90 p 1

[Jan Subrt report: "A Clear Report About the Army; Minister Dobrovsky's Brilliant Speech in Parliament"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [In his speech before the Defense and Security Affairs Committees of both houses of the Czechoslovak parliament on 5 November] The head of our armed forces also mentioned officers who are working abroad on the basis of commercial contracts. He cited the example of Libya where they actually work only as technicians, putting into operation or maintaining various installations. The cancellation of these contracts would involve great commercial losses, the minister said. On the other hand, however, there is nothing that would prevent these people from leaving the Army and working abroad as technicians. Business deals must be carried out on a purely commercial basis and no Czechoslovak who is yet to depart for Libya will do so in a Czechoslovak Army uniform. [passage omitted]

Also of some interest was the minister's information about the start of an inquiry into the background of the ill-famed participation by some officers in last year's congress of the united agricultural cooperatives [held on 1 and 2 December 1989], which could be interpreted as an Army offer to save the collapsing totalitarian regime.

L. Dobrovsky also mentioned that a civilian will soon be appointed to the post of one of his deputies. [passage omitted]

Polish Trade Attache on Decline in Joint Trade

AU1211151090

[Editorial Report] Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 8 November on page 5 carries a 600-word "sc"-signed report on a news conference with C. Ilczuk, Polish trade attache in Czechoslovakia, and B. Zalewski, a representative of the International Poznan Trade Fairs, held "recently" in Prague. The news conference dealt with, among other things, the development of Czechoslovak-Polish trade relations. HOSPODARSKE NOVINY quotes Ilczuk as having said that this year's volume of Czechoslovak-Polish trade will fall between 200 and 300 million rubles [R] short of last year's volume of R3.6 billion. The decline is attributed to "changes in the Polish economy and preparations for the reform in the CSFR," as well as to "many problems concerning the conclusion of contracts." According to Ilczuk, the future development of Czechoslovak-Polish trade is "hard to predict" but "pessimistic estimates predict a decline by up to 50 percent."

The report also mentions that the two countries will switch to accounting in freely convertible currencies and to the use of world prices in mutual trade as of 1 January 1991.

Hungarian, CSFR Bank Chairmen on Financial Matters

AU1211123390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 5 Nov 90 p 2

["(NO-Daniela Simanova)"-signed report: "Liberalization of Tourism"]

[Text] Bratislava— The meeting between Hungarian National Bank President Gyorgy Surany and Czechoslovak State Bank Chairman Josef Tosovsky took place in Bratislava on Friday [2 November]. What can our citizens expect after the debate at the Ministry of Finance and what can they expect from the specific agreements?

Both central banks will, between themselves, buy and sell foreign currency designated for tourism on the basis of the market rate derived from the forint-to-dollar and koruna-to-dollar rates. The entire activity will be passed on to commercial banks and the limits imposed on the exchange of financial means and on the amount that the citizens were allowed to get in cash will be abolished. Liberalization should come into force as of 1 January 1991.

As of 22 October, the Soviet Union stopped, for both countries, the so-called prompt mode of payment. In practice this means the abolition of immediate payment to the exporter—which was made upon the submission of the documentary evidence to our commercial bank—of the koruna equivalent of the value of the exported goods. This way, the financial means of the enterprises will be blocked for a certain period of time. Hungary reacted by immediate introduction of a similar measure. The CSFR has adopted it since 2 November.

In connection with this, the question of the raison d'etre of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation and of the International Investment Bank was tabled during the negotiations. Their activity is dependent on the ability to fulfill new tasks in the sphere of trade. In a contrary case their existence will become undesirable.

Nation Will Leave Warsaw Pact by 1991

LD1411202590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister has confirmed that Hungary will leave the Warsaw Pact military organization by the end of next year.

Geza Jeszenszky, who is in London, stressed at the same time that it is not the aim of the government to isolate the Soviet Union, so the Hungarian side is not urging, only hoping, that political consultation within the Warsaw Pact will also cease before long.

Jeszenszky declared that Hungary has a good chance of becoming a member of the European Community in 1996, on the 1100th anniversary of the arrival of the Hungarians in their present land.

Foreign Affairs Committee on Pact, Soviet Ties

LD1511015590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] The government commissioners of the Warsaw Pact member states propose that the military organization of Warsaw Pact be terminated by next July. This was said by a competent official of the portfolio at the session of parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. He pointed out that the secret pacts within the organization would become void simultaneously with the aforementioned deadline.

In the report made for the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact, the experts lay down the discontinuation of the joint decisionmaking character of the Eastern European bloc. The deputy state secretary of the portfolio stressed before the parliamentary committee that Hungary should do her utmost in the future to establish the cooperation system with the European states be and squeeze the military elements out of the guaranteeing of all-European security. Foreign Affairs State Secretary Tamas Katona took the position that the Soviet Union continued to be a particularly important partner for Hungary and it was in the essential economic interest of our country that bilateral relations be as clear as possible.

Progress of Soviet Troop Withdrawal Noted

LD1311221590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Our Veszprem correspondent, Gyula Horvath, reports that the last Soviet military unit has left Hajmasker. How far has the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our country progressed?

[Horvath] After the train pulled out from Hajmasker station, Colonel General Burlakov, commander of the Southern Army Group, held a news briefing in a suitable military tent set up near here. As he said, since March, 749 trains have left for the Soviet Union, accounting for 55 percent of the strength of the Southern Army Group here. Seventy-three percent of the offensive tanks have left. More than 65 percent of the Soviet artillery, more than 50 percent of the air force, and all the combat helicopters have left Hungary. The Soviet troops evacuated 16 military stations last year and 76 this year. The Hungarian-Soviet handover and takeover committee is keeping a record of assets totalling nearly 1 billion rubles—958 million transferable rubles, to be exact. Five thousand officers' apartments have been emptied in our country; at the same time, according to Burlakov, 4,500 of the officers have no apartment or house in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet general also spoke about the unsettled issues, noting that only 37 percent of the material stacks could be removed. He mentioned that there has been no Hungarian interest shown in fuel or storage space, therefore, Soviet foreign trade personnel will look for purchasers.

Goncz, FRG's Von Weizsaecker Discuss Future

LD1211204990 Budapest MTI in English 1733 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Tokyo, November 12 (MTI)—Despite the grave situation o the Hungarian economy, Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic, spoke optimistically about the future of Hungary during his meeting with Richard von Weizsaecker, German head of state, in Tokyo on Monday. The Hungarian president based his optimism on the recent events which he said had proved the maturity of Hungarian society. The recent weeks had been a test for democracy and indicated that the various political forces were prepared to make compromises.

The German federal president said that the German people had followed the events in Hungary with particularly keen interest since Hungary had granted assistance to East German refugees more than a year ago. Von Weizsaecker indicated that the German Government was prepared to give "every help". The heads of state did not discuss this real issue in detail.

On Monday, Arpad Goncz attended a reception by the Japanese-Hungarian Friendship Society and the Japanese-Hungarian Economic Club where he handed over the ruby-studded order of the Banner of the Republic of Hungary, the second highest honour granted to foreign citizens, to Johei Kono, president of the Japanese-Hungarian Friendship Society. Kono, the president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party, has presided over the society for five years and made great efforts to deepen relations between the two countries.

German-Supplied Electric Power Possible

AU1511140090 Budapest MTI in English 1438 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, 14 Nov (MTI)—Experts from the Hungarian Electricity Board (MVVT) [MVT] are now preparing a Hungarian-German agreement under which

Hungary could get access to an immediate supply of electric current from Germany should the need arise.

Venag, the successor company to the Electricity Board in the former GDR, is holding out the prospect of supplying 400-600 MW [megawatts] electricity a day to Hungary during the winter months.

Since the electricity grid of the former German Democratic Republic still constitutes part of the Comecon transmission network, electricity can still be supplied directly to Hungarian consumers from power plants connected to this network without any special coupling.

In actual fact, former East German power plants have the capacity to transmit more electricity to Hungary.

The reason the Germans could not promise more than 600 MW a day is that the transmitting capacity of the internal lines linking up the Czech and Slovak electricity grids is rather weak.

The German Government came up with this offer of help after Hungary experienced considerable hitches in deliveries of Soviet electricity in October: For a few weeks, at different periods of the day, several hundred MW less electricity arrived from the Soviet Union than the contracted 1,850 MW a day.

The idea has also been raised that Electricite de France, the French state electricity company, could also deliver electricity to Hungary in the winter months via Germany and Slovakia, or through Germany and Austria.

At the moment, Hungary imports 27 per cent of its electric current demand from the Soviet Union. This comes to 11 billion KWH [kilowatt hours].

Hungary uses about 40 billion KWH electricity a year.

Government Official on Future of CEMA Agreements

AU1211094290 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Nov 90 p 8

[Interview with Ferenc Madl, minister without portfolio and renowned international jurist, by Karoly Csabai; place and date not given: "What Will Happen to the Agreements?"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] After a lot of wrangling, CEMA will cease to exist in December 1990; with this, former interstate agreements will lose their validity, as will various multilateral agreements. Will the Hungarian Government be able to follow the GDR's example and claim compensation from the Soviet Union for undelivered goods? What will happen to the investments in Yamburg [Soviet gas fields], and what agreement will be reached on the interrupted Bos-Nagymaros water barrage project? We asked Ferenc Madl about these issues.

[Madl] If you expect a factual and official answer, then I must refer you to the Ministry of International Economic Relations. In the government, I am responsible for the policy on science and technology, for the work carried out in European and international organizations, as well as for privatization. Of course, as an expert on the legal regulations that determine international economic relations, I have some insight into the way things are developing.

[Csabai] What will happen to the agreements between CEMA countries?

[Madl] Within CEMA, decisions on economic relations, on trade in goods and services, and on joint investments were always made at the government level. It was the enterprises, however, that carried out the agreements on the basis of their own contracts. In other words, state—or interstate—decisions determined both macroeconomics and microeconomics. It will probably not be long before these decisions are formally surpassed and discarded. [passage omitted]

[Csabai] At the moment, previous agreements are still valid, yet not everyone respects them. For example, the Soviets are delivering less oil and electricity than expected. Can the Hungarian Government make any demands if its partners fail to fulfill the duties stipulated in their contract?

[Madl] First, a distinction has to be made. There are interstate agreements and there are company contracts based on these agreements. If either side fails to comply with the interstate agreement, then that side has broken the contract, both in form and in practice. CEMA countries, however, have no real experience in using legal means at an interstate level to force governments to abide by their contracts. There have been previous attempts to establish some kind of legal institution to settle moot points between countries, but these experiments petered out. At the moment, at an interstate level, goals can only be reached through diplomatic means—that is, through negotiations. [passage omitted]

[Csabai] The other moot point in Soviet-Hungarian relations concerns investments in Yamburg.

[Madl] In accordance with the applied structure, there are interstate agreements in this area which determine company cooperation in quite a detailed way. We are talking about a gradual investment; in the initial stage, the two sides gave an exact determination of the services to be provided by the delivering, entrepreneurial Hungarian side. As far as I know, however, arguments developed in relation to the following stages because both sides wanted to secure the most favorable position for themselves. According to my information, the two sides succeeded in agreeing on the details a month ago. Incidentally, the Hungarian Government believes that these investments are necessary because the Hungarian economy will receive energy from the Soviet Union in return.

[Csabai] The demise of the GDR seems to be a comparatively simple issue, because according to the latest news, the German Government is prepared to pay 500 million Deutsche mark in compensation to Hungary.

[Madl] The Hungarian Government is doing everything possible to receive some form of compensation from the legal successor of the GDR—namely, the German Government. Negotiations on this issue are even taking place now; in principle, there is a possibility that the Hungarian state will receive a certain amount of compensation.

[Csabai] What is the current situation of the Bos-Nagymaros investment case?

[Madl] It is a well-known fact that Oviber broke its contract with Donaukraftwerke. The two sides had appointed a body of arbitrators in their contract in case of a legal dispute, and the contract stipulated that the arbitrators could not be nationals of either country. A trial, however, will not necessarily take place. Indeed, Oviber is prepared to pay the Austrians for the work that they carried out, and it is even prepared to pay a certain amount of compensation in addition to that. The Hungarian side has absolutely no reason to withhold payments; however, the amount payable has to be objectively evaluated, so that, within a factual debate, an agreement can be based on this sum. As far as I know, the amount payable has significantly decreased compared to earlier estimates; at the moment, the figure already lies below 3 billion schillings, whereas the original demand was of approximately 4 billion schillings. The two sides have nearly reached an agreement, so there will probably be no trial. At this point, I would like to remind everyone that Oviber will not pay in cash, but that, in accordance with the original contract, Hungary will deliver electricity to Austria after 1995.

[Csabai] What is the situation for the Czechoslovak side of the Bos-Nagymaros investment?

[Madl] The situation is completely different for Czechoslovakia, because the power station is practically finished in Bos. From the Czechoslovak point of view, negotiations are far from over.

Membership in European Development Bank Proposed

LD1311225990 Budapest MTI in English 1723 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 13 (MTI)—In its Tuesday session, the Hungarian parliament approved a resolution on accepting membership in the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [ERBD].

The resolution makes it possible for Hungary to be among the first countries, declaring their intention of joining the ERBD.

Set up in May this year, the ERBD is the only bank which has the exclusive aim of supporting East Central Europe with credits, guarantees and capital.

Italian Defense Minister Continues Visit

News Conference Reported

LD1311220290 Budapest MTI in English 1718 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 13 (MTI)—Hungary can play an important part in the process of European unification, Italian Minister of Defence Virginio Rognoni stated on Tuesday at a press briefing following his talks in Budapest.

He stressed that progress towards a united Europe must be gradual and careful, lest the Soviet Union should fall behind in the process and feel isolated because this would pose a serious threat to the world. The Soviet Union will have major tasks to fulfil in the shaping of a common Europe, Rognoni added.

He spoke about his agreement with his Hungarian counterpart, Lajos Fur, according to which high-ranking ministry officials of the two countries are to hold consultations on defence issues, strengthening positive trends in Europe.

Italy supports Budapest's intention to open a Hungarian representation at NATO Headquarters, Rognoni said.

The talks included the issue of officer exchanges between the military academies of the two countries as well as industrial military co-operation. As regards the latter, Rognoni said that the co-operation was to focus on the examination for the possibilities of industrial military achievements being used in everyday life.

Answering a question, Hungarian Minister of Defence Lajos Fur said that no Hungarian Defence Force missiles had ever been directed towards Italy but this did not mean that there had not been such missiles deployed on Hungarian territory in the possession of another country.

Concerning the NATO representation, Fur stressed that it required a careful consideration of foreign and military policy and thus needed parliament's consent.

Departs 13 Nov

LD1311220690 Budapest MTI in English 1736 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Budapest, November 13 (MTI)—Virginio Rognoni, minister of defence of the Italian Republic, who paid a two-day official visit to Hungary at the invitation of Minister of Defence Lajos Fur, left Budapest on Tuesday.

The Italian minister and his entourage held open and constructive talks in the Ministry of Defence. The sides took stock of achievements in confidence and security-building in Europe, and informed one another about

their countries' endeavours for promoting detente. A joint statement on future cooperation between the defence ministries of the two countries was also approved.

The delegation met Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, Geza Jeszenszky, minister of foreign affairs, and Gyorgy Balogh, chairman of the Defence Committee of parliament. [passage omitted]

MSZP on International Left-Wing Party Meeting

AU1511122190 Budapest MTI in English 2008 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, 13 Nov (MTI)—The Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZP] has addressed a message to the Moscow Conference of the East-Central European left-wing parties. The message, also delivered to the National Press Service, notes:

A democratization process of such historical importance has emerged in Central and Eastern Europe transforming not only the lives of the peoples in the region, but also creating new bases for relations between the region's countries to expand, as well as for pan-European cooperation. The forces who took a stand on left-wing, democratic and national values inside and outside the former state parties played a pioneering role in launching the widespread changes.

The creation of a market economy may involve a major decline in the standard of living of the public at large. Therefore, the Hungarian Socialist Party deems it vital that there is cooperation between those left-wing forces committed to multi-party democracy and a social market economy. At the same time, it is firmly opposed to all efforts aimed at restoring the bygone systems superceded by history.

The Hungarian Socialist Party broadly supports those initiatives promoting the cooperation of the democratic left-wing parties of Central and Eastern Europe. It has proposed to convene a conference of this kind, and is ready to host the conference in Budapest. However, it considers the attendance possibilities of your programme to be too limited, which could make some people think you are entertaining ideas of restoration. This is why the Hungarian Socialist Party has decided not to attend the conference.

Foreign Ministry Official on Foreign Policy

LD1311132890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0750 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Interview with Dr Istvan Kormendi, head of a Foreign Ministry department, by Istvan Kulscar; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Kulcsar] Hungary was recently admitted into the Council of Europe; next week, a Hungarian delegation will be present at the CSCE summit. How is our European image developing in this period? What changes, what reevaluations, are going on here in the Foreign Ministry?

[Kormendi] First and foremost, the endeavor of Hungarian foreign policy is that, in accordance with the change in foreign policy orientation following the change of system, she should above all develop her relations with the European integration organs. [passage omitted]

[Kulcsar] Do we coordinate our foreign policy with other members of the Council of Europe or perhaps other Western European organizations and international bodies?

[Kormendi] In the field of foreign policy I must first mention that we recently initiated the beginning of foreign policy consultations and contacts with the Common Market. This process—that is, the process of gradual development of cooperation in foreign policy—coincides with the process of association, the signing of the treaty of association with the Common Market, and its coming into operation. This could, in fact, also be regarded as an independent area. It does not of course mean that the standpoints and actions of Hungarian foreign policy would now be automatically subordinate to an integrated, or at least a coordinated, Common Market foreign policy. At this stage, a task which could be accomplished within the realm of practical politics is to become familiar with the foreign policy coordinating activity of the Common Market, to take into consideration the foreign policy positions within the framework of the Common Market when elaborating the Hungarian standpoint, and, within a longer process, to harmonize continually the Hungarian foreign policy with the unified European policy established within the Common Market framework. [passage omitted]

[Kulcsar] When we are joining the Council of Europe and wish to join the European Communities, to what extent does this mean our moving away from our previous and present allies from the Warsaw Pact members?

[Kormendi] I would not say that it means our moving away, because the development and direction of the standpoints are much more complicated than this. It is much more complicated than moving in a straight line, both in Hungary and in the other Eastern European countries. If Hungary is approaching Europe today—in foreign policy relations as well as in many other relations—it is certainly not moving away from Czechoslovakia or Poland; those countries are also striving alongside us to join in the operation of the European organizations, in the current of European politics in general. I do not consider the expression "moving away" to be precise for another reason, because in connection with the transformation of the Warsaw Pact, or more precisely with the abolition of its military organization, Hungarian foreign policy first strives to renew and modernize its bilateral relations with the Soviet Union,

but also with other neighboring countries. In these relations, therefore, we cannot talk simply about moving away.

[Kulcsar] With the abolition of the Warsaw Pact military organization, which, according to all the signs, will come about by the end of next year at the latest, the Warsaw Pact will be transformed. It will lose some of its significance and even if it remains as a political consultative organ for a period of time, a sort of vacuum will arise in Eastern-Central and Eastern Europe from a security point of view. How does the Foreign Ministry think this could be replaced? Will we draw closer to NATO, or do we perhaps have a concept of some new security system?

[Kormendi] As far as the Warsaw Pact is concerned, the abolition of the military treaty could take place even earlier than the end of next year if we take into consideration the latest Soviet public statements. The big question for the member states is whether—in order to maintain an eventual consultative function, or one or two consultative forums—there is a need for a multilateral military treaty like the one that was formulated in 1955, which is fairly well perceived in its political ideological content. On the Hungarian side, of course, there is no question of our wanting to turn our backs on the allies, or on the former allies. It is not possible, it would not be realistic or right, and there is no such endeavor on the side of any of the parties. It is simply a question of our regrouping the still-necessary military cooperation—including the procurement of military technology. These have to be transferred from the multilateral forums in the Warsaw Pact framework, into the framework of bilateral relations.

With regard to our relations with NATO and, the Western European Union, there is no question of membership for the time being. Hungary is still studying how the European situation, the Central Eastern European situation, is evolving. NATO is doing the same. Contacts, getting to know one another, reciprocal information—these are the tasks that are now on the agenda between Hungary and the NATO.

As for the vacuum, I feel that this anxiety is somewhat exaggerated. In recent times—we did not say it very often—bilateral friendship and assistance treaties are also in force between Hungary and the other Warsaw Pact countries, treaties which have the same international legal force as the Warsaw Pact itself. Even in this political legal sense, a vacuum would not arise if the Warsaw Pact as a treaty was abolished.

The other thing is that Hungary, also in the security policy and foreign policy spheres, is pursuing lively dialogue with Czechoslovakia and Poland; furthermore, there is a certain possibility for our shaping a common stance on specific issues. No less important is the fact that the renewal of Hungarian-Soviet relations is on the agenda, including security policy relations and including the achievement of the necessary degree of military cooperation within bilateral Hungarian-Soviet relations.

Poszgay Announces Plans To Form New Party

LD1411094490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Gyorgy Bolgar report on statements made to UPI by Imre Pozsgay, former vice chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP); place and date not given]

[Text] [Bolgar] Pozsgay wants to form a party. This is what emerges from the statement the one-time leading politician, who has left the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], has given to the American news agency UPI. According to him, Hungary needs a new alternative party because many people are dissatisfied with the present government. Furthermore, there is not much hope of the MSZP becoming stronger in the near future. That is one reason why he decided to try a new organization outside the party. The time was ripe for me to leave, he stated. I was in the wrong place. As he said, the party that he envisions would be the party of the new middle class because this group is not sufficiently represented by the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. As for what policy the Pozsgay party will pursue, however, and with what program, that was either not discussed in the UPI interview, or if it was discussed, then the American news agency has for the time being not passed on this knowledge.

Interior Minister on Police Activity, Taxi Strike

AU1411090890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Nov 90 p 5

[Interview with Interior Minister Balazs Horvath by Attila Gy. Fekete; place and date not given: "Leave the Police Out of Politics—Why Did Balazs Horvath Not Accept the Resignation of the Budapest Police Chief?"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] There is still a debate on who played what role in the peaceful settling of the events that started as a taxi drivers' blockade and degenerated into a relatively small citizens' disobedience movement. According to opinion polls, most people talk about the chief of the Budapest police department in the most positive terms. As is well known, the chief of the Budapest police declared that he would resign if ordered to activate the police against the demonstrators. Now we also know that Sandor Barna not only announced his possible resignation but also offered his resignation to the interior minister, but the latter refused to accept it. We asked Balazs Horvath why he refused to accept it.

[Fekete] Mr Horvath! You replaced the prime minister and acted as the head of the government during the blockade. First of all, let me ask you what were the limits of your authority as deputy prime minister?

[Horvath] It is characteristic of Mr. Antall's high moral standards that, although he tried to get as much precise information about everything as the hospital allowed, he gave no orders to me or the other members of the government. This required a lot of self-restraint on his

part. We did receive advice from him, of course, but Mr. Antall was aware of the fact that he did not have the entire picture; therefore, he let me and the government make decisions the way we saw fit.

[Fekete] How do you evaluate those events today?

[Horvath] I agree with the position of the chief prosecutor—namely, that a series of crimes were committed during the events. The participants in the blockade paralyzed the activity of public services. I also think that these people had no precise idea of the legal aspects of their actions. [passage omitted]

[Fekete] When we started the negotiations, everyone felt threatened and wondered whether the police would be activated or not. The head of the Budapest police department spoke of his possible resignation, and, if I am correct, he even offered his resignation to you during the crisis.

[Horvath] Police Chief Sandor Barna indeed offered his resignation on the night of 27 October, and did so in the presence of several witnesses. At that time, however, he no longer had to fear that an order would be given to use the police to create order. As early as 26 October, I ordered the withdrawal of police troops from the Arpad Bridge in Budapest. It is a fact that I did not accept Sandor Barna's resignation. Honestly speaking, it seemed strange that, in such a sensitive situation, one of the high-ranking leaders of the Hungarian police wanted to resign. [passage omitted]

Trade Minister Sees Need for Rapid Privatization

LD0911133690 Budapest MTI in English 1111 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Vienna, November 9 (MTI)—The recent events have called the attention of the Hungarian Government to the fact that its obligations accepted for the radical transformation of economy should be implemented more consistently, resolutely, and at a faster pace, said Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, on Thursday evening, in his lecture for leading Austrian economic and financial experts.

"The complexity of the current Hungarian tasks is increased by the fact that the change in political and economic systems, in foreign policy and foreign trade orientation are simultaneously on the agenda, while it would also be necessary to achieve a "change in public mood", to intensify the confidence, the work and enterprising spirit of the people."

Among the most important tasks of the government, Kadar termed the acceleration of the privatization process that serves to transform the hitherto property relations, and within this the heightened encouragement of investments by foreign enterpreneurs, the further liberalization of foreign trade, and the attainment of the forint's convertibility. In connection with the latter, the minister noted that convertibility is already enforced, in part, as foreign currency is freely available for forints for liberalized imports, or that the foreign investors can take their Hungarian profits out of the country, without restrictions and exchanged into the desired currency.

Minister Kadar held talks with Austrian Minister of Science and Research Erhard Busek, about issues related to the Budapest-Vienna World Expo.

Defense Ministry Budget Problems Outlined

LD1311212490 Budapest MTI in English 1729 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 13 (MTI)—Next year, the Ministry of Defence will require at least 75,000 million forints to maintain the current standards of the Hungarian Army. This sum does not include the necessary funds for establishing an armed force with fewer staff but more up-to-date equipment, clearly not a viable option given the present circumstances. In preliminary consultations, however, the Finance Ministry's experts recommended that the military budget be kept at the same level as this year, in other words at 40,000 million forints. Due to inflation, this would imply a drop in real value, Lajos Fur, minister of defence, and other senior leaders of the ministry told the Hungarian press on Tuesday.

Per capita military expenditure in Hungary amounts to 80 dollars a year, less than in all the neighbouring countries. (In Czechoslovakia, spending is three times higher, and in Romania, one and a half times so.)

The agreements drawn up in the Vienna disarmament talks, now waiting to be signed at the Paris summit, stipulate higher limits for some arms such as air defence than the Hungarian Army's present arsenal contains. Hence, a buildup in such fields could be justified, if only funds weren't so short.

Leaders Speak at Border Treaty Signing in Warsaw

Genscher Calls Treaty 'Fateful Step'

LD1411171790 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1119 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Speech by FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the signing of the Polish-German Border Treaty in the Council of Ministers building in Warsaw—live, in German followed by Polish translation]

[Text] Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Foreign Minister, honored representatives of public life in Poland, ladies and gentlemen.

The signing of the treaty between the FRG and the Republic of Poland on the confirmation of the border that exists between them is a fateful step between our two peoples and for the future of Europe. It is an expression of European responsibility for peace. It has a moral, a historic, and a European dimension. The recognition of the border on the Oder and the Neisse [Odra-Nysa] accords with the dictates of peace. The treaty on the final settlement on Germany rightly describes the confirmation of the final nature of the borders of united Germany as a fundamental component part of the peace order in Europe. The German Bundestag, in which deputies from the whole of Germany are represented, has given its agreement to that treaty. We Germans are conscious that the treaty signed today gives up nothing that was not already long lost as a consequence of a criminal war and of a criminal system. Before our eyes stand the sufferings of the Polish people in the period of German occupation. Nor do we forget what the name of Auschwitz means not only for the Jewish people. It remains a constant warning of the need to preserve human dignity, to respect other religions, peoples, and races.

The treaty signed today reflects the will of the German people. This is what the German Bundestag and the People's Chamber of the former GDR decided on June 21 of this year. On September 27 1989 in front of the United Nations, I said that the Polish people were the first victims of the war unleashed by Nazi Germany 50 years ago. May they know that their right to live in secure borders will not be questioned by us Germans with territorial claims today or in the future. The wheels of history will not be turned back. We want to work with Poland for a better Europe of the future. The inviolability of the border is the basis of peaceful coexistence in Europe. The confirmation of the existing border is the free decision of the Germans. Nobody forced us to take it. Many voices of high moral authority have expressed the Germans' will for peace. They have contributed, as Federal President von Weizsaecker put it on May 8 1985, to learning to bear the arbitrary allocation of different fates.

As early as in 1950 the charter of the expellees renounced revenge and retaliation. This responsible statement at the beginning of the history of the FRG made an essential contribution to prevening new nationalism and radicalism from poisoning German democracy. A free democracy emerged in the western part of our fatherland, a democracy to whose construction the expellees made their indispensable contribution. The Germans in the former GDR, with their free and peaceful revolution, have expressed their commitment to freedom, human rights, and democracy. The memorandum published by the Evangelical Church in 1965, the word of reconciliation from the Polish bishops of the same year, the declaration of Germans and Polish Catholics of September 1 1989 remain valid today as voices of reason and reconciliation between Germans and Poles.

The Warsaw Treaty of 1970 became the firm basis of mutual understanding. It has proven its worth, it created a reliable foundation for peace and stability in Europe. As early as then the vicious circles of injustice and new injustice, which had plunged our peoples into terrible wars again and again, was broken. The Warsaw Treaty was an indispensable prerequisite for the start of the CSCE process, the fruits of which we are able to harvest together today. Germany and Poland have no territorial claims against each other and will not raise such claims in the future.

The decision which we have made with the treaty signed today is not an easy decision for us Germans, not for any of us, and not for me. For those who have lost their homes, who experienced the suffering of expulsion, this decision is particularly painful. At this hour we must particularly respect their feeelings and their commitment to peace. The loss of home is a great sacrifice. Our thoughts go to those who lost their lives in the expulsion. Our feelings take nothing from the significance of our decision as a contribution to reace in Europe, take nothing away from its significance for a new European future. They make the deep consciousness of European responsibility for peace only all the clearer.

I note with gratitude that Poland pays tribute to our decision. The preamble to the treaty describes the loss of home as a result of expulsion or resettlement as a reminder and a challenge to develop peaceful relations between our two peoples and states. We know that not only Germans lost their homes as a result of the war, Poles, too, were forced to abandon their homes. We hope that from this shared experience there will grow mutual understanding. At this hour we do not want to forget those Germans who today live in Poland. They should know that the new European order which we desire, that the new relationship between Germany and Poland should also enable them to develop their potential and to preserve their identity where they live, in a Poland of freedom and democracy.

Poland and Germany expouse the standards developed and further improved by the Council of Europe and the CSCE for national minorities. Here lies the assured future for the German minority in Poland. For peace in Europe, for peace between Germany and Poland, much

work has still to be done. There canot be enough human contact. Therefore travel must be made easier, even if a German Polish youth initiative lets young people grow up with understanding for each other. Local and regional cooperation over the Oder-Neisse border will create new and shared experiences. Poles and Germans should feel challenged to restore Prince Pueckler's European work of art, the Muskau Park, on the other side of the Neisse. The governments of the federation and the laender, but also nonstate organizations on all levels are called on to create forums where people can meet each other. The creation of a German-Polish encounter center in Kreisau is an example that points the way for Europe. Others must follow.

Together we must look for ways to make it easier to learn each other's language. The greatest efforts in this will be rewarded with the greatest gains. The treaty points the way to the future. The peaceful revolution for freedom in Poland, Hungary, Germany, and Czechoslovakia in 1989 opened the borders in this part of Europe. The Germans will ensure that, before the end of this year, the ending of visa requirements means that travel can develop freely in both directions. We must take care together to ensure that this border does not become a prosperity divide between poor and rich. We give our full support to the Polish desire to associate with the European Community. The advantages that Western Europe can offer as a result of the large common market should benefit the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe who have won back their freedom. Together with our partners in the EC, we are working to integrate Poland and other reforming states in Central Europe into the market economy-oriented trading and economic system. This does not only entail short-term aid. At the end of such long-term economic and political cooperation there is the prospect of entry into the EC. The nearer Poland gets to the EC, the more intensively we can use this framework also for German-Polish cooperation.

The Germany of 1990 is a European Germany. Cooperation with the Soviet Union, too, is European in its character and in its objectives. Poland is integrated into this. The national differences in the political orientation of the European states belong to the past. Because the border between our states is now definite it puts an end to mistrust. Now people, Poles and Germans, can meet anew. They know that they can make a joint contribution to the emerging Europe. A border that is not questioned does not divide, it unites. This will release energy for new common tasks. Germans and Poles have a European mission.

To build Europe means to create a new community of all European peoples and nations. Nobody is as deeply committed to this as Germans and Poles. Suffering and injustice of the past entitle them particularly to work with great vigor and determination for the unity of Europe. The intellectual contributions to the united Europe, which are the result of mutual inspiration, continue to exist. Nicolaus Copernicus and Viet Stoss, both contemporaries of the humanist awakening in Europe, and closely linked in their life's work with both, Germany and Poland.

Their work helped to shape the intellectual life of Europe. The phenomena of German and Polish culture are part of the joint European culture. We experience the cultural legacy of the Germans in East and West, Prussia and Gdansk and Pomerania, in Brandenburg and Silesia as the German contribution to European culture in Europe. These cultural possessions are our joint legacy. They deserve to be protected jointly. It creates trust between the peoples, between the Germans and the Poles, if what is valued and dear to one people is valued and respected by the other. The treaty we signed today [words indistinct] to build bridges. That means above all that we must not see our common past in the nationalist estrangement of the 20th century.

Our historians are rather called upon to place common ties into our consciousness. The foundation of a German-Polish historical institute would be a significant contribution to this.

The terrible past in this century should not allow us to forget that Germans and Poles have lived together peacefully and as good neighbors for much longer and more frequently than as enemies. It is part of historical truth that in 19th century Germany there was never such a wave of sympathy and enthusiasm for a people than there ws for the freedom-loving Poles. Great intellects in Germany had a part in the many Polish (?songs) of this time—Chamisso, Droste- Huelshoff, Grillparzer, Hebbel, Herwegh, Uhland, and yes, even Richard Wagner with his "Polonia" overture, were among them.

After the fall of Warsaw in 1832, an appeal published in Wuerttemberg said: "Poland, which fought for Germany, for Europe, for freedom, for the most cherished interests of the whole of mankind," has fallen. At that time, the black, red, and gold flag was carried alongside the Polish white and red flag in many places in Germany. Even then people were aware of the inner connection between German and Polish freedom, a connection which in the 30's and 40's of this century proved so horrific and in our days points the way to the future. In the past year, the Germans have for their part seen that without Poland's freedom there is no German freedom; without Poland's freedom no lasting peace; no welfare of the European peoples.

We signed more that a treaty today. We are beginning a work of European community. We are agreed that this treaty serves not mutual demarcation, but bilateral opening toward European common ground. The confirmation of this frontier, binding under international law, is a decisive contribution to the prospect of a Europe without frontiers. Germans and Poles want to help in the construction of the united Europe. It should be a Europe in which frontiers separate people less and less, but rather unite them. It should be a Europe in which respect

for human rights, the rights of minorities is forever made the basis of the peaceful coexistence of peoples.

In such a Europe nationalist arrogance, feelings of revenge, and enmity will no longer have any place. We see our treaty as the beginning of a new era in the history of our two peoples, as our essential contribution in the European peace order. A rebuff to the wrongs of the past, which each honest person [words indistinct], demands from us the shaping of a new German-Polish future, in which the lessons of the past are drawn. We in tend to do that with the comprehensive treaty that we are now negotiating. Its substance is defined in the German-Polish declaration, signed a year ago today in Warsaw by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Prime Minister Mazowiecki. We intend to present both treaties together to the legislative bodies for ratification. They will link the future and the past.

A Polish participant in the Hambacher Fest in 1832 stated that never were two nations more worthy of each other then the Germans and the Poles, never was there a more wonderful and firm link between peoples than there is now between Germans and Poles. May it make our descendants happy. Let us strive for such happiness, Germans and Poles, democratic and free, in respect and friendship, linked in a united Europe. [applause]

Skubiszewski Cites 'Peace Order'

LD1411140190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1155 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Speech by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski at the signing of the Polish-German Border Treaty in the Council of Ministers building in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Federal Minister, speaker of the Senate, deputy speaker of the Sejm, ministers, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen.

The treaty which we have just signed confirms the Polish-German border, which comes into existence from the moment of its signing, in other words, the border delineated and marked out in the region in accord with the agreements cited in the first article of the treaty.

That border has for Poland long been an integral part of the peace order in Europe. That peace order was carried out not by a single act, which a classical peace treaty is, but by a series of acts, particularly by various agreements and acts of recognition. The treaty on the final settlement on Germany signed in Moscow on 12 September rightly indicates that the confirmation of the final character of the borders of a united Germany forms an important integral part of the peace order in Europe.

Mr. Federal Minister, I fully endorse your statement that no peace treaty or peace regulation is anticipated. Thus finally the political, diplomatic, and legal chapter concerning the Polish-German border has been closed. Both nations can congratulate themselves for this. And here in Poland, Mr. Federal Minister, we are aware of your role in attaining the unification of Germany in the existing borders.

In his greatly constructive speeches made in recent months, Federal Chancellor Kohl referred several times to the difficult fate of those people, who as a result of the change of the borders in this part of Europe, lost their home hearth and their fatherlands. This is what aggression and the destruction of the European order existing until 1939 resulted in. Today, howver, Poles and Germans need peace in their hearts and minds. We must not look backwards but into the future; we must live together with each other. A new and great chapter is opening before us. We have already taken a decisive step. I have in mind here the signing exactly a year ago of a joint statement by the prime minister of the Polish Republic and the federal chancellor. That statement has been implemented to a considerable degree and continues to be applied. At present we must concentrate on the development of the Polish-German community of interests. That community already exists to a certain degree, but above all it needs to be strengthened and constructed. The treaty, the treaty on cooperation and good-neighborliness, which we have started to negotiate will contribute to that.

The leveling out of the differences in living standards and economic development should hold an important place in Polish-German relations. Hence, the great significance which the opening of the bordes as well as cooperation generally through the border have. Interregional contacts should have priority.

Polish-German good-neighborliness is part of the joint effort designed to achieve European unity. I would go even further by saying that good Polish-German relations are one of the pillars of this unity and one of the pillars of European security which we shall be creating.

The future Polish-German treaty should provide the foundations for political, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation in the sphere of investment, transportation, communications, and environmental protection. There is no need for me to mention separately here the sphere of culture. Much must be done in social and work-related matters and even more in the sphere of youth exchanges which it is vital to develop in accordance with our situation as neighbors and in accordance with the reconciliation which has to a large extent been achieved between both nations.

When all is said and done, Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Mr. Federal Minister, I view with optimism and confidence the future of the relations between Poland and Germany. [applause]

Mazowiecki on 'Symbolic Significance'

LD1411151390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1206 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Speech by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the signing of the Polish-German Border Treaty in the Council of Ministers building in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Deputy Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. Today is a very important day for us: In a peaceful manner Poles and Germans are removing the sources of historical conflicts and ending a period in which the problem of a border divided our countries and which for us Poles was a source of fear and a feeling of threat. Today is also of symbolic significance; namely, two countries that have recently regained full sovereignty are showing how, under democratic conditions, conflicts and historical problems can and ought to be resolved. We are closing a chapter of the past in order to look to the future, to build a joint Europe that is tolerant, peaceful, and economically developed. We believe that Poland with its history, location, experience, and culture has an important role to play in this Europe. We believe that along the road toward Europe we will encounter the well-disposed and helpful attitude of a democratic Germany. We discussed all this during our conversation with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. I am pleased that we are agreed regarding our conviction that the relations between our countries are of fundamental importance for the future both of our countries and also that of the whole of Europe. During subsequent meetings we will, without doubt, talk about current relations and about the future.

May I be permitted, Mr. Deputy Chancellor, taking advantage of this exceptional occasion, to return yet again to the past. Twenty-five years ago our episcopate and our great priest and statesman Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski expressed, in a letter to German bishops, words that have become deeply etched in the memory of my nation: We forgive and ask for forgiveness. These were words that were profoundly Christian-like and bold. This was a gesture made toward the German nation. However, the wounds of war were too fresh and still too painful for unselfish love of one's neighbor to triumph in a spontaneous and immediate manner. Time was needed. Today no one casts doubt over the wisdom and far-sightedness of the great shepherd.

The sufferings of our nation during the war were tremendous and immeasurable. Even the number of victims will not do them justice. Just imagine how monstrous was the suffering experienced in our land if we add to the victims of Poland the victims of the Jewish nation. As a consequence of the war and as a result of decisions by the great powers, Poland, deprived of its prewar eastern territories, received in compensation the lands in the West. We have recognized these decisions as being just. We recognize them as being inevitable and inviolable. Today, together with Minister Skubiszewski, you have signed on behalf of Germany a document on the irreversibility of this decision. Remembering, however, the words of the bishops we ask for forgiveness, we also have to mention the suffering of the German nation connected with shifting Poland from the East to the West. We remember that arithmetic is not valid in the calculations on the numbers of victims—every wrong remains a wrong and every piece of misfortune a misfortune irrespective of the wrongs and misfortunes we experience ourselves.

Mr. Deputy Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. We wish to believe in a democratic Germany. We also want Germany to have confidence in us, in the stability of our new democratic institutions. The principles governing our internal relations are a guarantee of the goodwill in international relations. In our country all minorities, including the German minority, have and will have all the necessary conditions for their development. They are citizens of our state enjoying full rights and all the rights recognized in international treaties. Our foreign policy, as in every democratic state, is closely linked with foreign policy. What your president, for whom I have profound respect, called an ecumenical society has been and still is our aim. A just society open to all its neighbors is our aim. Thus we look to the future with confidence. [applause]

Leaders Hail Significance of Joint FRG Treaty

Mazowiecki Notes Importance

LD1411175390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0625 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Remarks by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the "Election Studio" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] I believe that in the matter of signing the treaty recognizing the inviolability of the Polish-German border—the first treaty we are signing with the already united Germany—there is deep understanding in Poland that this is a fact of great importance. There is a feeling of certainty over our borders, a feeling that by this treaty we are ruling out all kinds of ambiguities in our relations with the German state—the newly united and economically powerful state. (?The state undertakes) to rule out all ambiguity now and in the future. It has enormous significance for us all. After this treaty, another one will be drawn up by the end of January—a treaty on cooperation and good-neighborliness in relations. Both treaties will be submitted to the German Bundestag and to the Polish Sejm for ratification.

This is the beginnning of a new chapter, the closing of the old chapters of that period of perpetual questioning of our frontiers. The closing, the ruling out of any kind of ambiguity, the forging of international support—these are also the result of our participation in the "two plus four" conference. I think, therefore, that the signing of the treaty is very significant. It is quite simply an important historical moment in our mutual relations and also in the whole European situation, because there is certainly no longer an argument over this matter. There is a chance for good relations to be established, and this is an important matter for the whole of Europe, and that is (?how it is seen). I am glad that this will happen today.

Skubiszewski Pays Tribute

LD1411192890 Hamburg DPA in German 1837 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Saarbruecken (DPA)—In the Abendmagazine program of Saarland radio this evening, Poland's Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski paid tribute to the significance of the German-Polish border treaty. He said that the decisive thing is that the signature of united Germany was given of its free will. He added, "Free and independent neighbors are meeting today and eliminating a problem that has poisoned our relations over so many years." Now there is "no longer any contentious German-Polish issue."

The Polish foreign minister expressed understanding for the feelings of the Germans driven from the former Eastern territories. "I am sorry that it came to this as the result of the war. Poland did not want this war. Our borders were determined at Yalta by the three great powers. Poland was not present at Yalta, but we also accepted large losses of territory in the East, Polish losses." Members of his own family originated from the former East Poland, the areas which now belong to the Ukraine, Belorussia and Lithuania. Poland, however, regards these borders as "final."

In conclusion Skubiszewski said: "In my opinion the borders in this part of Europe should remain as they are. That is also the contribution of today's treaty to the stability of the territorial situation in Central Europe on this very important geostrategic line—Moscow-Warsaw-Berlin—and further to the West."

Skubiszewski Praises Mazowiecki

LD1411092190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Excerpt] During yesterday's meeting of the Council of Ministers, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said that the border treaty being signed today between Poland and Germany in Warsaw is the personal success of Tadeusz Mazowiecki. He added that it is an important and historical event which is happening at the right moment. [passage omitted]

Text of German-Polish Border Treaty Published

LD1411121290 Hamburg DPA in German 1002 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The German-Polish border treaty, which establishes the Oder-Neisse [Odra-Nysa] line as a border under international law 45 years after it was introduced, was signed [as received] in Warsaw today by the Foreign Ministers Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The preamble of the treaty now also notes that expellees lost their homes. In its operational part the treaty very much follows the joint resolution of [the FRG] Bundestag and [the former Polish] People's Chamber of 21 June 1990.

The text of the treaty reads as follows:

Treaty Between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Republic of Poland on the Confirmation of the Border Existing Between Them.

The FRG and the Republic of Poland:

Striving to develop their mutual relations with a view to the future, in accordance with international law, particularly the UN Charter, and with the Final Document of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe signed in Helsinki as well as the documents of the follow-up conferences;

Determined to make a joint contribution to the construction of a European peace order in which borders no longer divide and which guarantees trustful coexistence and comprehensive cooperation for the benefit of all as well as lasting peace, freedom, and stability for all European peoples;

Deeply convinced that the unification of Germany as a state with definite borders is an important contribution to the order of peace in Europe;

Taking into account the treaty on the final settlement on Germany signed on 12 September 1990;

Appreciating that 45 years have elapsed since the end of World War II and conscious of the fact that the great suffering caused by this war, particularly the loss of their homes suffered by numerous germans and poles because of expulsion or resettlement, constitutes a reminder and a challenge to develop peaceful relations between the two peoples and states;

Wishing, by developing their relations, to create a firm foundation for friendly coexistence and to continue the politics of lasting understanding and reconciliation between Germans and Poles—have agreed the following:

Article 1. The parties to the treaty confirm the border existing between them, the course of which is determined under the Agreement of 6 July 1950 between the German Democratic Republic and the Republic of Poland on the demarcation of the established and existing German-Polish state border, and under the agreements concluded to implement and supplement it (Act of 27 January 1951 on the Execution of the demarcation of the state border between Germany and Poland; treaty of 22 May 1989 between the German Democratic Republic and the Polish People's Republic on the demarcation of the waters of Oder Bay) and the treaty of 7 December 1970 between the FRG and the Polish People's Republic concerning the basis for normalizing their mutual relations.

Article 2. The parties to the treaty declare that the border existing between them is inviolable now and in the future and undertake to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity without restriction.

Article 3. The parties to the treaty declare that they have no territorial claims whatsoever against each other and will not assert such claims in the future.

Article 4.

(1) This treaty requires ratification; the ratification documents will be exchanged as soon as possible in Bonn.

(2) This treaty comes into force on the day of the exchange of ratification documents.

In witness whereof, the representatives of the contracting parties have signed and sealed this treaty.

Carried out in Warsaw on 14 November 1990 in two originals, each in the German and Polish languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the Federal Republic of Germany
For the Republic of Poland

Jaruzelski Receives FRG Foreign Minister 14 Nov

LD1411224490 Warsaw PAP in English 1938 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Germany's vice chancellor, Foreign Affairs Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, now in Poland on an official visit in connection with the signing of a border treaty between the two countries.

Said Jaruzelski: "We attach great importance to the border treaty signed with Germany. It constitutes a foundation on which we wish to build the common future of Poles and Germans... The negotiation and signing of the border treaty proves that even issues which have been difficult to resolve before can be solved with good will in a pragmatic way, one corresponding to the interests of both states and the spirit of transformations taking place in Europe."

"We think that the process of all-European integration will to a large degree depend on the model of our future cooperation," the president added.

Ministers Continue Talks on Border Issues

LD1411154490 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1500 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] A dozen or so minutes ago, talks between Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Hans-Deitrich Genscher began in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Although the two ministers signed a border treaty between Poland and Germany today, various issues remain to be settled including the details of another treaty on good-neighborly relations and cooperation. This treaty will be signed at a later date. The talks are continuing, and Minister Genscher's visit is accompanied by enormous interest. Inside the building are approximately 12 television crews, and over 100 journalists.

Presidential Candidates Campaign Throughout Nation

LD1411051590 Warsaw PAP in English 0029 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 13—Left-wing candidate for presidency Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz met with youth in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski, south-eastern Poland, today.

A good start of youth will stimulate Polish economy, Cimoszewicz stated. It is necessary to make corrections in Balcerowicz's economic programme so as to boost production. The state should feel responsible for conditions of the youth's start and introduce system solutions, for instance, preferences for those enterprises which employ graduates.

Speaking about the situation in Poland after the presidential elections, Cimoszewicz opined that a government will be formed by the parliamentary majority after elections to the parliament.

At a press conference here today independent candidate Stanislaw Tyminski protested against manipulating his presidential campaign in the press, radio and television.

Tyminski stated that he has less time on the air than Lech Walesa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki and accused some newspapers, such as ZYCIE WARSZAWY and EXPRESS WIECZORNY, of falsifying reports on his statements.

He announced that his electoral staff had been infiltrated by the OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions] and therefore he had to change its head.

Tyminski also said that he had invited all presidential candidates to a meeting with newsmen, a date for which remains to be settled. He could not say however which of the candidates had agreed to such a meeting.

Leader of the Freedom Party Kornel Morawiecki described inviting him to lay flowers at the Solidarity plaque in Wroclaw today as "an attempt to use the feelings and symbols linked with the underground resistance of the Solidarity trade union and the fighting Solidarity for propaganda purposes in the presidential campaign."

"I regret that Lech Walesa has never turned to me with a similar proposal beforel neither during the years of my underground activity nor when I have come out of hiding. I consider the presidency of either Mr. Walesa or Mr. Mazowiecki the maintenance of the present alignment of power, fateful for Poland," Morawiecki wrote in a statement conveyed to PAP.

PSL [Polish Peasant Party] leader Roman Bartoszcze met with a group of scientist occupied with issues of the countryside and agriculture.

Leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) Leszekmoczulski met with residents of the Opole Province today.

Balcerowicz's policy, Moczulski said, is an experiment on a ruined country. This policy is only speeding up its

destruction. Today we need a government of national salvation. If I won in the elections I would give the functions of prime minister and vice prime minister to representatives of parties other than KPN. But only our programme can pull Poland out of the crisis.

Assessing the foreign policy of Poland Moczulski stated that last year, before the German unification, Poland could have obtained everything from Germany in return for the support for this unification. Other countries got what they wanted long ago. We still have only promises, Moczulski opined.

Walesa Speaks to 'Solidarity' Activists in Wroclaw

LD1411050590 Warsaw PAP in English 0037 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Wroclaw, Nov. 13—I am still not sure myself whether I am too weak or not, whether I'll vote for myself in the presidential election. I don't know who is the best but with these meetings I want to inspire you people to reflect that Poland is ours, that Poland is only one. I want to encourage you people to stop waiting aside and thinking that somone will do the work in Poland for us. I beg you, choose the best candidate and the best programme, said Lech Walesa to over 5,000 of his potential electorate and local "Solidarity" activists in Wroclaw today.

Walesa also said the younger generation must play a major role in getting Poland out of the crisis and stressed that "during this transitional period Poland must have a strong professional army, a smart and courageous army able to ensure peace and security to its country."

Walesa also laid flowers at the plaque commemorating the strikes of 1980 and the birth of "Solidarity" in Wroclaw. Later, he told a press conference: "I have extinguished many strikes in the past but I will not do it now because we have democracy and trade unions to cope with these problems."

In the evening, the "Solidarity" leader was received by Metropolitan of Wroclaw Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz.

Walesa Adviser Interviewed on Walesa's Policy

AU1411181390 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 12 Nov 90 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Tymowski, social politician, sociologist, and legal adviser to Lech Walesa, by Zbigniew Lesiewski; place and date not given: "How Does One Distribute a Shortage?"]

[Text] [Lesiewski] What made you decide to become Lech Walesa's adviser?

[Tymowski] A social politician must always sow his seeds on fertile soil. The government never asked me for my opinions, which I gave in the form of interviews and speeches, but nevertheless I did express my opinions informally. I willingly accepted Lech Walesa's invitation to become his adviser on social policy because I strongly object to the Mazowiecki government's social policy. One cannot win an election campaign if one has no plans for this policy.

[Lesiewski] What kind of policy is Walesa's policy meant to be?

[Tymowski] Completely different to the present government's. The government's policy is based on philanthropic principles and is subject to constant vacillation depending on the situation at hand. Basically, it has no problem. Walesa's policy must not be like that. It is typical of the Mazowiecki government that there is an economic council but no social council. That means that economic issues are considered more important and the effects of economic decisions on people are ignored.

[Lesiewski] In other words, you think every economic decision should be accompanied by a careful consideration of its effects; but is foreseeing these effects the same as counteracting them?

[Tymowski] One has to know something before one can counteract it. There is a close link between economic decisions and their social effects. We are entitled to expect the government to reach decisions on proper social security, but, as Minister Kuron has himself admitted, for a long time the government had no social policy plan. One must admit that Walesa has exerted a very positive influence in this resect. He forced the government to act, and so the government has recently begun to work our social policy plans.

[Lesiewski] But the government employs an argument that is difficult to refute: One can only distribute what one possesses.

[Tymowski] Social policy consists of establishing priorities. I have serious doubts whether spending millions of zlotys on refurbishing the Council of Ministers building or providing sports facilities for the staff is a priority. It is not just the rich who are supposed to have a good life. The reform should improve the life of everyone.

[Lesiewski] Is your criticism of the government's social policy the reason why the government did not ask for your services? After all, no one likes to hear the bitter truth.

[Tymowski] I do not know and I am not interested. But as a social politician and academic I am obliged to tell the truth and nothing but the truth. I cannot come to terms with the fact that as much as 40 percent of the population receives social aid. One cannot create a system of dividing the national income whereby people who are working or drawing pensions must at the same time claim social security benefits in order to pay the electricity bill. The national income must be distributed in such a way that people are capable of satisfying their basic needs out of their own wages. Only those who cannot earn their own wages for subjective reasons, e.g. illness, should receive social security benefits. In the

meantime, these benefits are being paid out to compensate for price hikes. I hope Walesa understands these things and will pay proper attention to them.

[Lesiewski] Many people expect Walesa to improve their lives. Is that not wishful thinking? After all, what possibilities does Poland have of satisfying even the basic necessities of working people? People have grown accustomed to waiting for an improvement to their situation, instead of making an effort to improve it themselves.

[Tymowski] Cadre policy is one of the Mazowiecki government's weak points. The prime minister was in a difficult situation when he was forming his government. He had a limited choice, and he had to choose people whose usefulness was uncertain. But soon afterwards it became obvious that some of the people he had appointed were useless. Another weakness of Mazowiecki's is that he finds it difficult to get rid of people who have proved unsuitable. The practice of reaching a decision after a great deal of thought, one of the qualities Mazowiecki is praised for, often ends with no decision being made at all. I think Walesa will be able to select people, according to the results they have achieved in their various specializations.

[Lesiewski] But not even the most brilliant minister will increase social security funds if the coffers are already empty.

[Tymowski] I have spent most of my life under the previous system, which promised heaven on earth one day. Today one hears assurances that the situation will improve in the future. However one cannot spend all one's life in the future. Thus, one should not interpret Walesa's "acceleration" slogan literally. Today, acceleration means most of all an improvement in the quality of the government's work. One need not expect a presidential candidate to present a detailed program. Political parties and ministers are the ones who should present such a program. The president should have the ability to choose people to govern and replace them when they fail. Unfortunately, the present executive authorities lack this ability.

[Lesiewski] One frequently hears and reads that Walesa does not enjoy the support of most of the intelligentsia.

[Tymowski] That depends on which intelligentsia group we are talking about. The engineering-technical intelligentsia certainly supports him more than the purely humanistic intelligentsia. A politician should be judged according to the results of this work, and Walesa has proved to be an effective politician. In addition, a president must enjoy the support of most of society. Of all the presidential candidates, Walesa is the closest to this ideal. I think he is capable of forming a government of people dedicated to their country instead of their careers. Over one year ago, Walesa "elevated" many people to the Sejm. They would never have been elected if they had not been carried photographs of him. But today, these same people are turning into his political adversaries. Walesa has not changed, and remains faithful to what he used to say. Polish history contains the following slogan: "The Polish people are behind the Polish nobility." The nobility frequently suffered defeat if they had no support from the people. Perhaps it is worth reviving this slogan in the following form: "The Polish intelligentsia is behind the Polish people." That would guarantee Poland's success in the future.

Shipyard Attempts To Hush Walesa Critics

AU1511120290 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12 Nov 90 pp 1,2

[Bronislaw Tumilowicz report: "They Will Not Permit Journalists To Come and See Me—Anna Walentynowicz, Worker at the Gdansk Shipyard, Talks to SZTANDAR MLODYCH"]

[Text] I was very surprised when they allowed a journalist to enter the shipyard and talk to me. An FRG television crew that was doing a film on me tried to see me at the shipyard on 7 October, but they were refused access by the management board of the Gdansk Shipyard. The filmcrew said that they would not interrupt my normal work nor do an interview, they merely wanted to shoot some film of me. Nevertheless, they were told that Walentynowicz was critical of Lech Walesa and the shipyard management did not wish critical views of Walesa to emanate from the shipyard. Earlier this year, on the 10th anniversary of "Solidarity," television crews from Japan, France, and a country of Scandinavia, were refused permission to come and interview me in the shipyard. This was done purely for political reasons.

Throughout the Gdansk-Sopot-Gdynia conurbation, posters signed by Andrzej Gwiazda and Janusz Golichowski have appeared. The posters carry a declaration of the University of Gdansk "August 1980" Committee and call for a boycott of the presidential elections saying that they will lead directly to a dictatorship. According to the signatories, the presidential candidates have tacitly accepted the undemocratically constituted prerogatives of the head of state. Only the nation can decide who is to be president. That is why general parliamentary elections should precede the presidential election campaign.

Mazowiecki's Presidential Bid Examined

AU1311113590 Szczecin JEDNOSC in Polish 8 Nov 90 p 3

[Tomasz Zielinski report: "What Is This Mazowiecki Like?"]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki visited Szczecin for the last time as prime minister recently. Next time he will come to our city either as president, or as a former prime minister and presidential candidate. His election committee prepared two important meetings for him here; one with local government officials in the Philharmonic Hall, and one with young people in the "Kosmos" cinema. In addition there were various street events with balloons, music bands, and, to make things look more American, confetti.

The presidential campaign is causing a great deal of excitement. People have the impression that Poland's fate depends on who becomes president. That is probably not the case. There are two main candidates, both of whom, and I am not the first to say this, represent the same political line—that of "Solidarity." The difference between Walesa and Mazowiecki lies in different ideas on how to implement the same strategy and in choosing the people to do this. Walesa is viewed as a strong man, a man of the people, whereas his competitor is viewed as an advocate of the rule of law,a man who has mercy for the defeated. Walesa attracts those who are impatient for change and dissatisfied with the present political set up, while Mazowiecki has the support of those who favor evolution rather than revolution, European-style politics, and political stabilization. Mazowiecki's supporters view Walesa as a potential dictator and troublemaker, whereas Walesa's supporters view Mazowiecki as a timid politician incapable of shaking the tree on which the decaying fruit of the nomenklatura grows. There is also a fringe consisting of people with various odd ideas and unsatisfied ambitions—anti-Semites, proletarian activists, and intelligentsia. They view their respective presidential candidates as people who will solve their problems and permit the fulfillment of their ambitions.

According to Mazowiecki, there are two main tasks facing the presidency: establishing a line of foreign policy, and guaranteeing state security. He said this about foreign policy in Philharmonic Hall: "The task of foreign policy is to overcome the rich-poor division of Europe within 10 years. This is a task for us and for Western Europe. Our acceleration must be accompanied by energetic steps taken by the West." Speaking about defense policy, he said: "The new doctrine is safe borders on every side. The ultimate objective is a professional army and a major modernization of armaments." He announced that the Soviet Army would leave Poland by the end of 1991. He allayed fears that German capital would dominate the Polish economy thus: "Poland must pursue the kind of foreign policy that makes Poland independent of any single foreign capital."

He told the local government meeting in Philharmonic Hall that local government bodies are the basic components of the Polish reform. He told the young people in the "Kosmos" cinema about schools, further education, military service, unemployment, and the shortage of apartments. He said: "I promise you I will not present any mirages. I promise you a simple and clear presentation of problems. I would like to give the farmers a secure existence, pensioners better living conditions, and the unemployed chances to retrain for new jobs."

He defended his government's actions. "I defend the way in which religion was introduced to the schools," he said in reply to one complaint. "Price hikes? Wage curbs? There is no other way to overcome inflation. Balcerowicz's plan is this government's plan," was his reply to another complaint.

He said he wants the border treaty with Germany to be initialed as soon as possible, for that is the commitment imposed on Poland by the "two plus four" conference. However, he added, no pact will give the German minority any special rights. Every minority will receive the same treatment, with a respect for their rights and identities.

He avoided any sharp polemics about Lech Walesa. Replying to a complaint that the presidential campaign is costing 100 billion zlotys, he said: "Yes, but that is not my fault." Asked why he refused the offer of remaining prime minister if Walesa becomes president, he said: "I have been a target of attacks by Lech Walesa since April. Could my prime ministership be credible and permanent? It could not, so I did not accept the offer."

He announced that his presidential campaign would become more energetic, but, "We will not indulge in bargaining by means of slogans," he said.

Reality is less exciting than election rallies. The chances of Walesa becoming a dictator are almost nil. Even if he did want to become a dictator, he would find it impossible in these times and in this society. Walesa has clearly said that he wants to continue the reforms that were commenced in Poland last year. By the way, when there is a crisis, this alleged "troublemaker" behaves with a caution that is even excessive. Yet, apart from his evident successes, Mazowiecki as prime minister has also made serious blunders which he sometimes did not correct until strong social pressure had been brought to bear against him.

The present ballyhoo surrounding the presidential campaign is like letting the locomotive's steam escape through the whistle. The composition of the next Sejm is more important than who occupies the Belvedere Palace. The election campaign of the future Sejm deputies will start immediately after the presidential one, and it is the parliamentary campaign that requires enormous social commitment. But will society have enough strength and desire left after the present contest?

Equally important is the shape of the new constitution and the powers it will give to the highest bodies of authority, including the president. But there is total silence on this topic, a mere three weeks before the election.

Is that the way things are done in a "state under the rule of the law?"

Mazowiecki Election Platform Deemed Populist

AU1311183590 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 10 Nov 90 p 5

[Jerzy Baczynski commentary: "Room on the Platform"]

[Text] The candidates for the office of president are craftily calling on each other to wage "a struggle over programs." They themselves feel that as the election campaign gains in intensity, the differences between the contenders, instead of becoming more pronounced, are becoming obscured as

similar-sounding words, challenges, and declarations are voiced. After listening to what candidates said during a number of television appearances, my inescapable impression was that I was being fed some kind of tasteless chaff. That is why I read the "electoral platform" of one of the main presidential candidates, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, with all the more interest.

T. Mazowiecki's platform was designed to include all voters. So, there are warm words addressed to everyone: farmers, pensioners, the unemployed, people working in the arts, and entrepreneurs. There is talk of preserving what has been achieved to date and of overcoming the recession, of opening up to the rest of the world, and of friendly cooperation with our neighbors, and so on. Generalizations at this kind of level make it impossible to raise any objections. However, the program contains at least two new elements that, I think, are a direct response to L. Walesa's election campaign.

First, the role of the future president has been formulated rather precisely. He should, according to Tadeusz Mazowiecki, "define the strategic course of government policy." So, the president is to be some kind of super prime minister and might be the actual executive head of government. It is not clear what role is to be ascribed to parliament under this system, but T. Mazowiecki's declaration confirms that we are heading in the direction of a presidential system, irrespective of whether it is Walesa or the present prime minister who wins. T. Mazowiecki began his election campaign as the spokesman of a classic parliamentary democracy, and now, at least in what he says, has moved closer to Walesa and his concept of a strong presidency. No doubt, the staff at the prime minister's campaign office decided that that is what voters expect. The second new element in the campaign is the emphasis on the fact that all of us, or at least a majority, should be drawn into the process of institutional change. One of the weaknesses of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government to date has been its tendency to do its work behind closed cabinet doors, its inability to mobilize public opinion and to make society active, and the absence of daily contact with "the people." This weakness is being effectively exploited by L. Walesa, whose main slogan at this stage of the campaign has become "take power into your own hands, and I will help you." I do not exclude the possibility that participation in the election campaign itself, which has made Mazowiecki's people leave their offices and get a breath of fresh air has convinced them that politics is not just a technical exercise. If T. Mazowiecki wins the elections, it is a lesson that should be remembered, if he loses, then it should be remembered all the more.

In a democratic system, politics is all about the art of convincing voters, of winning their sympathy and support. Prime Minister Mazowiecki and his colleagues have displayed a clear unwillingness to flirt with society in the belief that the substantive arguments in their favor suffice. Presidential candidate Mazowiecki has now revealed a populist dimension to his politics. His election platform, which is general and fairly banal, may disappoint those who expected a program. However, programs do not, unfortunately, win election campaigns. It is worth having some sort of programs after elections are over.

Mazowiecki Answers Questions on Election Program

AU1311122290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Krzysztof Gottesman report: "See the Changes Through to the End"]

[Text] On Wednesday 7 November 1990, Tadeusz Mazowiecki presented his "Program for Poland," a document which is his election program. At the following press conference, Mazowiecki answered questions from the floor.

My vision of Poland is based on the belief that we are capable of building a country in a short space of time and where we shall not only feel free, but also proud of our achievement and our own effort; proud of the fact that—contrary to all pessimistic prognoses—we have been able to secure our freedom and create the solid foundations of a strong democracy and an efficient economy, writes Mazowiecki in the introduction. In the following sections of the document, he touches on all important problems of contemporary Poland.

Mazowiecki believes that within a year the Warsaw Pact organization should be disbanded and there are no good reasons for keeping the dead structures of CEMA. Mazowiecki sees Polish security arising from agreements with Poland's neighbors and a European security system. America and Canada also participate in this system.

As regards our relations with the East, Mazowiecki's program talks of the Soviet Union, as well as the separate republics such as the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania, which are all laying the foundations of their sovereignty. Poland would like to cooperate with Germany to strengthen the process of reconciliation and cooperate in building European unity. The basis if this is to be the border treaty ("I think it is now fully agreed" said Mazowiecki at the press conference), and the treaty on neighborly relations and cooperation.

The program speaks of cooperation with international organizations. Poland is to join the Council of Europe. This is almost certain to happen after we hold free and democratic parliamentary elections. Our strategic goal as regards the EC, is to become a member before the end of the present decade. The negotiations on an association agreement are well advanced.

Mazowiecki believes that the presence of Soviet troops in Poland should come to an end before the end of 1991. An independent Poland should have an efficient army. In the future a smaller, but a professional and a better equipped army is planned for. This will be under the control of a civil ministry of defense. Mazowiecki intends to abolish the extra-constitutional Committee

for the Defense of the State, and in its place put a presidential Defense Council, which would comprise of various ministers and be written into the constitution.

The economic goal is a market economy where private ownership dominates, he writes. He postulates that privatization of half of our enterprises must take place within three years. One of the elements which will ensure that Polish public is part of this process, is free privatization bonds. Every citizen will receive these. Privatization and the accompanying commercialization are the way forward to increased salaries.

The program clearly says that not all property injustices in the past can now be put right. However, all that was done in breach of the law and which can be put right, should be put right. There is no plan to take land away from private farmers, which they originally received during the period of agricultural reform, stressed Mazowiecki.

Without foreign capital, the modernization of the Polish economy is impossible, he continued. In order to attract it—and the program sets out to do this—we have to elaborate lasting, detailed, and unambiguous provisions which will regulate foreign capital in its acquisitions of land and buildings. Legislation and public opinion will dispel the widely held fears of a sell-out of national property.

As a prime minister, Mazowiecki is particularly criticized for his lack of an agricultural policy and his disregard for the agricultural community. Mazowiecki as president will dynamically guide the process of demonopolizing the network of economic links that surrounds the farming community. Procurement, food processing, and food retail trade (to a certain extent), should pass into the ownership of food-producer organizations. Grants of preferential credits for the agricultural sector should be used for extending and modernizing farms, the creation of modern dairies, and food processing plants and factories.

Unemployment is an unavoidable phenomenon in a market economy, but we must do everything to reduce its impact, states Mazowiecki. This can be done by securing favorable loans from the World Bank. These loans will provide the foundation for an effective system of aid for small enterprises which employ unemployed people. For those in employment, Mazowiecki foresees the creation of a system where their remuneration will reflect their output.

Abortion is a great social malaise. Human life should be protected from its conception until death. This principle is a cardinal one for me as a Christian, writes Mazowiecki in his program. Parliament will decide the ultimate shape of the legislation on the protection of unborn life. We must not forget that legislation itself will not solve the problem and a great deal of education and support will have to be forthcoming.

During the press conference, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that the prerogatives of the president ought to be wider than they presently are. The president—relying on his mandate from society—should ensure that all the state's institutions work harmoniously. He should point towards longer term goals, delineate the state's goals in the foreign affairs and defense arenas, as well as be the guardian of the constitution.

Very shortly we shall have free elections, stated Mazowiecki. We shall have a democratic parliament and this should produce a strong and effective government. A new constitution has to be adopted. This constitution must ensure the stability of Polish political life for many decades to come.

The process of creating the democratic institutions of the state should be completed by the end of 1991. Thus, within two years of the communist collapse we shall have a fully democratic country.

In the last few sentences of his political program, Mazowiecki writes: "Freed from the daily duty of guiding the work of the cabinet, I would want to represent the voice of the thinking section of Polish society in all circumstances, and be a mediator between various democratic political forces in the public arena. I want to ensure that public life in Poland and the way that political decisions are made are crystal clear to everyone."

Mazowiecki Meets Ecumenical Council Members

LD1211173190 Warsaw PAP in English 1628 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 12—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki met with members of the presidium of the Polish Ecumenical Council headed by its president Bishop Zdzislaw Tranda here today.

Participants in the meeting discussed the advancement of work on the instruction which would introduce some non-Catholic religions to schools, Marek Pernal, the head of the office for religions at the office of the Council of Ministers said.

Members of the council expressed satisfaction that the Catholic instruction speaks of the spirit of tolerance and the atmosphere of free will, although sporadic instances of violating this character raise concern.

Discussed were also matters pertaining to pastoral services of some non-Catholic religions in the Army, schools and prisons.

Iliescu Continues Official Visit to Japan

Meets Speaker of House Sakurauki

AU0911162390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1237 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Tokyo (ROMPRES) 9/11/1990—The president of Romania, Ion Iliescu, met in Tokyo with Yashio Sakurauki, speaker of the house of representatives. Their talk covered the political and economic situation in the two countries and showed the mutual willingness to expand the bilateral cooperation in various spheres.

President Iliescu reiterated Romania's interest in the Japanese experience, in the ways that brought Japan out of a situation which at the end of the second world war was in certain respects similar to the one in Romania now.

The Romanian head of state extended a personal invitation to Yashio Sakurauki to visit Romania. He also said he would like Japanese experts to attend a constitutional law seminar due in Romania at year's end.

Confers With Prime Minister Kaifu

AU1111172290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1458 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/11/1990—"We appreciate the efforts made by Romania under the present leadership for the democratisation of society and for the implementation of structural economic reforms through the transition to the market economy," stressed Japan's Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu during his November 11 interview with Romania's President Ion Iliescu. We wish you success in your actions of deepening democratisation process, the Japanese premier added, because it also facilitates the development of our bilateral relations.

Mr. Toshiki Kaifu warmly thanked the Romanian head of state for his participation in the ceremonies occasioned by Emperor Akihito's enthronement.

Thanking for those appreciations as well as for the invitation to attend the ceremonies in Tokyo, Romania's president sincerely congratulated the Japanese authorities and people on Emperor Akihito's enthronement. "Our presence in Japan's capital city," he stated, "is a proof of our deep esteem for the Japanese people, of our wish to develop our relations with Japan in all fields."

Mentioning that the evolutions in Romania are not free of certain difficulties, President Ion Iliescu showed that their causes were the situation inherited from the old regime, the problems characteristic for a transition period as well as certain international factors, the Gulf crisis included. In such conditions, the support of the international community was both important and welcome. We particularly express our gratitude for Japan's stand, the Romanian president said, and we hope Japan will further help us in the Group of 24, which will contribute to meliorating the negative effects Romania has experienced following the Gulf situation. Mr. Ion Iliescu referred to the existing possibilities to expand economic exchanges, to Romania's wish to be granted by Japan the assistance of experts in economic reform and support in training managers.

Premier Toshiki Kaifu stated that after Romania had been included in the enlarged assistance programmes of the Group of 24 Japan was ready to consistently act for and concretely back those efforts by means of bilateral and multilateral projects financed through "Eximbank" and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

For the intensification of the relations between the two countries, President Ion Iliescu made the proposal that the Joint Romanian-Japanese Governmental Commission and Economic Council resume their activity as bodies meant to give an impulse to cooperation. Welcoming that initiative, the Japanese premier stated that the Japanese authorities would examine the necessary measures to be taken to that end.

During the interview Romania's and Japan's wish was also expressed to strengthen their international collaboration.

President Ion Iliescu handed over the Japanese premier a message for His Majesty Emperor Akihito with the invitation to pay an official visit to Romania.

At the same time, on behalf of the Romanian Government and of the prime minister, Premier Toshiki Kaifu was conveyed the invitation to pay an official visit to our country as soon as possible. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Comments on Tokyo Meeting

AU1111195090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Statement by President Ion Iliescu to Liviu Duma, special envoy of Romanian Radio and Television, in Tokyo on 11 November—recorded]

[Text] [Duma] Esteemed listeners, President Ion Iliescu's program today included many meetings with various Japanese figures and with leaders of certain delegations present in Tokyo for tomorrow's ceremony of the crowning of Japanese Emperor Akihito. In the coming minutes, we invite you to listen to President Ion Iliescu's statement to Romanian Radio and Television.

Mr. President Iliescu, please say a few words about your meeting a few minutes ago with the prime minister of the Republic of Korea.

[Ion Iliescu] Within my scheduled meetings here in Tokyo this afternoon, we received the prime minister of the South Korean Republic and a South Korean delegation at our hotel here. This is a continuation of contacts established between our countries after the establishment of diplomatic ties and after the South Korean

foreign minister's visit to our country, which was followed by a visit of an Adrian Severin-led parliamentary delegation to Seoul. In my discussion with the prime minister, we again expressed the mutual desire to expand bilateral ties. South Korean companies actively participated at our Bucharest International Fair and, in several talks I had with their representatives there, I could detect their interest in our country.

We discussed all these aspects of the development of our relations both in the political and economic spheres and about the assistance the South Korean Government is willing to grant to the South Korean firms and companies for trade exchanges, production sharing ventures, general exchanges of experience in state contacts, managerial manners, and the promotion of economic reform. Consequently, there is a good atmosphere and a mutual interest in consolidating this beginning and developing bilateral relations.

[Duma] Mr. President, you are here in Tokyo to attend the crowning of Emperor Akihito. Today your working schedule marked a very important moment—namely, the meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. Would you be so kind as to comment a bit on this meeting?

[Iliescu] Indeed, this meeting with the prime minister probably was the central political point of my program thus far in Tokyo. We had an initial meeting in New York during the World Summit for children. Today, the Japanese prime minister granted me a meeting which lasted for almost one-half hour. This was also his first meeting with the head of a foreign delegation. Both of us expressed interest in developing relations among our countries, in view of the new conditions created by the revolution and the radical changes occurring in our country's political and economic lives. I briefed the Japanese side on the changes taking place in the country and the problems we are faced with at this time—both regarding the consolidation of the development of a democratic political life and the promotion of economic reform.

We expressed the interest in consolidating ties with Japan at all levels and in obtaining assistance from the Japanese Government both in the framework of state relations—the exchange of experts and the training of our experts in the field of economic planning and modern management, including the specialized training of certain Romanian cadres in Japan and the Japanese Government's sending of experts to help with the planning of economic reform and with management problems—and in the framework of relations among companies, bilateral cooperation between our firms and Japanese forms, and expansion of various forms of contact and cooperation, including production sharing. We (?examined a possible) cooperation in the modernization of Constanta harbor and in the utilization of the Canal [Danube-Black Sea Canal] zone by certain joint enterprises, which can thus serve not only the development of exchanges between our countries, but also the broader framework of Japan's relations with European countries.

Furthermore, in view of the hardships we are currently faced with due to the inherited situation—this year's drought, the Gulf crisis, and other difficulties connected with the economic reform process—we emphasized our interest in economic assistance and support from Japan. I must say that the discussions took place in a favorable atmosphere of understanding, mutual esteem, and interest. I felt a real interest on the part of the Japanese side in developing our comprehensive relations, including those in the economic field.

I met with Israel's President Herzog this afternoon. This was very relaxed and friendly meeting, during which we emphasized the mutual interest—given the new conditions created by the changes occurring in our country—in developing relations among our countries. On the one hand, we emphasized this joint interest and briefed each other on various topics—actually it was more our briefing the Israeli side on political and economic changes in our country and on the content of the economic reform. We expressed the interest in developing bilateral ties and the political cooperation between the two countries at the international level.

We also expressed understanding for the interest shown by the Israeli side in maintaining ties with the international Jewish community. In this respect, we discussed the good relations and the good atmosphere for cooperation and collaboration with the representatives of the world Jewish community. It was a positive meeting, which opens up new prospects for our relations. Among other things, President Herzog invited me to pay a visit next year, which I will try to honor.

Meets With Turkish President Ozal

AU1511130390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1937 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/11/1990—Romania's President Ion Iliescu and Turkey's President Turgut Ozal met on November 14 in the morning at Tokyo.

The two heads of state continued the dialogue started in New York when they attended the World Summit for Children and the session of the UN General Assembly.

President Ion Iliescu thanked for the constant support given by Turkey to Romania, for the interest shown in bilateral collaboration, including credits for cooperation ventures with Romania.

He presented the steps taken by Romania for the continuation and deepening of the process of democratization, of speeding up the economic reform and passing on to a market economy.

The Turkish head of state appreciated the measures, stressing the importance and complex character of the period of transition.

The talk also covered international issues. Both parties reiterated the wish to work for the development of the bilateral and multilateral collaboration in the Balkans. President Iliescu reiterated Romania's support to Turkey's initiative for the creation of a zone of cooperation among the Black Sea countries.

Referring to the Gulf tension, the two presidents advocated a political solution based on the Iraqi troops' withdrawal from Kuwait and the restoration of Kuwait's sovereignty.

Iliescu Sums Up Results of Visit

AU1511115990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1016 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/11/1990 [date as received]—On his return home from Tokyo where he attended the festivities occasioned by the enthronement of Emperor Akihito President Ion Iliescu stated inter alia: Besides attending the ceremonies occasioned by the enthronement of Japan's emperor which was a particular political moment, our presence being considered an expression of our people's feelings of esteem and consideration for the Japanese people, of our wish to develop bilateral relations, these days have been rich in contacts with Japanese politicians and businessmen. We met with the prime minister, with the minister of industry and international trade, with the minister of education and the chairman of the scientific council. We met with the speakers of the two chambers of the Diet, with members of the Parliamentary League of Friendship with Romania, of the Keidanren, a delegation of which paid a visit to Romania a few weeks ago. It was a substantive interview on the possibilities of strengthening the economic relations between our two countries also attended by representatives of prestigious Japanese companies. Talks were held on the interest of Japanese companies in using the new facilities created in our country to extend bilateral cooperation. We also met people of large companies which have representations in Bucharest and took part in the TIB [Bucharest International Fair] '90, companies that have some experience in relations with us, interested in expanding these relations, in contributing to the modernization of our industry and initiating new forms of cooperation. I met with two university professors I knew when I was young, I saw round Tokyo. [sentence as received] The Japanese society impresses through its extraordinary efficiency, the industriousness of its people who have managed to harmonize tradition with a highly efficient and highly technical modern civilization. This diligence and efficiency are the dominant elements which are impressive. We would like that the experience acquired by the Japanese civilization be a landmark in our organization. These days we also have had contacts with representatives of states of Latin America, Asia, Africa. We have met with all our neighbours, presidents Zhelev, Jovic, Goncz. We have expressed our mutual wish to contribute, also personally, to the improvement of the relations between our countries. We have a common history and we are interested in removing all the residues accumulated along the years and establish relations of good neighbourliness among our countries. We have pledged to contribute directly to the improvement of our relations. We have met with the president of the Supreme Soviet, Lukyanov, and discussed about the continuation and improvement of the relations between our two countries, more particularly in the economy, in consideration of the difficulties encountered, to bring back to normal mutual deliveries and our cooperation. Before leaving we met with President Turgut Ozal of Turkey with whom we established particularly friendly relations and talked about cooperation in the Balkans and in the Black Sea area. We talked with the president of Cyprus Vasiliou, we met with Prime Minister Michel Rocard, with President Mario Soares of Portugal, with the President of the Italian Senate Giovanni Spadolini, with President Kurt Waldheim, with Prince Charles, President Koivisto, the presidents of Brazil, Argentina, Costa Rica, India, the Philippines, with Arab heads of state, with the representatives of Egypt, Saudi Arabia. It was an opportunity for multiple contacts with representatives of over 40 states. We could note a growing interest in the changes taking place in our country, feelings of empathy, of solidarity, and the wish to develop cooperation on all planes.

Confirming that he would attend the Paris Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Mr. Iliescu assessed it as a political moment of great significance. All the European states are preparing for this meeting, he said. It will mark the crucial turning point of the political life on the continent and in the world in connection, first of all, with the changes occurred in the Eastern European countries. We hope it will be a propitious moment for us to underscore those foreign policy guidelines that characterise our country's activity at present and an opportunity to consolidate the all-European framework for the development of the political and economic cooperation on our continent.

Roman Receives German Bundestag Delegation

AU1411195590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/11/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman had talks on November 14 with the delegation of the Bundestag Foreign Relations Commission, headed by Dr. Volkmar Koehler, deputy for the Christian-Democratic Union.

The Romanian prime minister presented at length the process of reconstruction of the Romanian society, the directions of the reform and the implementation of the market economy mechanisms. He outlined the outlook on and sequence of the measures already under way and of the envisioned ones, for the next stages, expressing the

confidence that their implementation would help overcoming the current difficulties. The interest was shown that the international organizations and Western countries should play a significant role by cooperation in economy upon mutually advantageous bases.

The guests showed that their own experience of reintegration of the lands in the Eastern part of their country allowed them to appreciate the course lent by the Romanian Government to the transition to the market economy, to the priorities in that comprehensive process price liberalization, speeded up privatization of commerce, services, transport, etc., which are expected to make the base for fast progress in the whole national economy.

Identical views were expressed during the interview on the interest of stabilization of the German minority in Romania, the protection and development of their economic and cultural heritage, as a spiritual bridge of great value between the two countries and peoples.

Both parties expressed the confidence that the Romanian prime minister's impending visit to Germany at the invitation of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, expected with interest by the German party, would be very useful and would mark considerable progress in enhancing the Romanian-German confidence and economic cooperation, in support of Romania's current targets and preoccupations.

Roman, Pana Meet German Transportation Minister

AU0911201290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1832 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/11/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman met on Friday with Mr. Friedrich Zimmermann, transport minister of Germany. On that occasion, the parties studied possibilities to develop the cooperation between the two countries in the field of transport.

The German minister had also talks with Mr. Doru Pana, Romanian minister of public works, transport and physical planning.

A number of concrete ways of expanding the cooperation between Romania and Germany have been convened, such as improving railway connections between the two countries, both for cargo and passenger trains, and contributing German technical assistance to the programme of building new roads and highways in Romania.

European Parliament Delegation Continues Visit

Current Situation Analyzed

AU1311201290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/11/1990—The delegation for Romania of the European Parliament, led by Maria Adelaide Aglietta, chairman of the delegation, member of the Commission for Foreign Economic Relations and of the Commission for International Problems of the European Parliament, met Tuesday, November 12 with members of the Commission for Foreign Policy of the Romanian Parliament.

Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the Commission for Foreign policy, other members of the commission, representing all the political parties in the Romanian Parliament, answered the guests' questions, trying, and, as it seems, succeeding in dispelling a number of ambiguities still shared by a certain part of the European community, related to the irreversible way of the Romanian society towards democracy. Along these lines, a number of laws were mentioned—already adopted or only submitted to the Romanian Parliament—essential for the creation of a state of law, for the implementation of deeply democratic reforms in all fields of economic and social activity. The constructive role of the opposition in the Romanian Parliament was appreciated, as well as the fact that the government, although supported by a majority in the Parliament often took into account the viewpoints of the opposition representatives, that cannot be overtaken in a genuine democracy.

The guests considered the opinions and the data supplied for making clear certain issues related to Romania's entering the Council of Europe.

During the meeting the delegation of the European Parliament had with members of the commission for drawing up Romania's Constitution certain details were given about the elaboration of this fundamental law of the country. Questions were answered related to the political, economic, social options and structures this document has in view.

The European Parliament's Commission for Romania also had contacts with the members of the parliamentary commission investigating the events over June 13-15, who gave details on the current phase of inquiries, specifying that they are under way and no final conclusions could be drawn yet.

The Romanian parliamentarians asked the delegates of the European Parliament to analyse the events that occurred over June 13-15 not only based on the information by Western mass-media, but also within the context of the understanding of the phenomena and processes under way in Romania.

The members of the Parliamentary Commission for Investigation said they were positive they would be able to establish the truth as concerns the events of those days and that such incidents would not be possible in the future.

The European parliamentarians expressed their satisfaction at the information made available to them and appreciated the talks as interesting. They assured the Romanian parliamentarians of the European Parliament's backing their efforts.

Talks Held With Roman, Others

AU1311224090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2045 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/11/1990— A delegation of the commission for relations with the countries that are not members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe led by Mr. Rene Noerens, now on a fact-finding visit in Romania, met Tuesday [13 November] afternoon with Romanian Premier Petre Roman.

The Romanian premier detailed the measures, the legislative initiatives included, to deepen democracy and establish the state of law, for a passage to the market economy.

He also enlarged on the June 13-15 events, with emphasis on the need to chronologically and correctly analyse them, without excluding some aspects from the context and exacerbating them.

Mr. Petre Roman referred to the rights benefiting the minorities in this country on all planes, underscoring that they are part and parcel of the general democratic evolution of Romanian society.

The delegation of the commission for relations with the countries that are not members of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe expressed their satisfaction for the prime minister's statement, being positive for Romania's joining the Council of Europe.

After the interview, while addressing press representatives, Mr. Rene Noerens said he was very much impressed by the prime minister who thoroughly knows the situation in the country as well as by the open spirit he showed during the talks. He believed Romania has a very good and young ministerial team and the Romanian people would live a much happier life in the near future. [passage omitted]

The delegation also had an interview at the Senate's Headquarters with representatives of the mass media: TINERETUL LIBER, ADEVARUL, AZI, LIBERTATEA, DREPTATEA, and VIITORUL newspapers, ROMPRES, the Radio and TV Stations.

During the interview, the guests asked several questions related to the journalists' possibilities of freely stating their opinion on the June 13-15 events in Bucharest, the miners' role on those days, the difficulties the journalists encounter in getting well informed, the problems in disseminating the press, the number of existing publications, a.s.o. [expansion unknown]

Nastase Outlines Diplomatic Hopes

AU1411214690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/11/1990—Adrian Nastase, foreign affairs minister of Romania, met with the delegation for Romania of the European Parliament, headed by Mrs. Maria Adelaide Aglietta, member of the Foreign Economic Relations Commission and of the International Affairs Commission of the European Parliament, on November 14.

Minister Adrian Nastase outlined the major orientations of the Romanian diplomacy, stressing that the expansion of the links with the European countries and the joining of the country in the structures of the continent's political organizations were among the priorities. The Romanian foreign minister recalled the withdrawal, right after the December 1989 revolution, of Romania's reserves vis-a-vis the final act of the Vienna CSCE meeting, pointing out the country's interest in becoming a member of the Council of Europe. Likewise, the Romanian chief diplomatist answered questions posed by the delegation about the country's foreign policy principles in the Balkans, the relations with the neighbour countries and the future European political structure.

After the interview, Mrs. Maria Adelaide Aglietta stated to the press representatives that the delegation meant to understand better the problems and what was going on in this country, as part of the new relations within the community and, naturally, in Romania. She said they came with feelings of friendship and solidarity with the Romanian people in order to seek out together a common road, and added that they were in Romania also in view of the European Parliament's critical position regarding the unpleasant events in Romania these last few months, yet equally in order to understand and see if there is a way to overcome the problems.

Cabinet Members Consulted, Queried

AU1411214790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1857 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/11/1990—The delegation for Romania of the European Parliament, headed by Mrs. Maria Adelaide Aglietta, member of the Foreign Economic Relations Commission and of the International Affairs Commission, had interviews on November 14 with Adrian Severin, minister assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with the Parliament; Constantin Fota, minister of commerce and tourism; Napoleon Pop, secretary of state with the Foreign Trade Department; and Victor Babiuc, minister of justice, with representatives of the Ministry of the Interior, State Secretary Dumitru Penciuc and his assistants.

The discussions focused on the program of economic reforms envisioned by the government for the current stage of Romania's transition to a market economy in the country's specific conditions.

Upon the guests' request, the cabinet members surveyed the current stage of the Romanian economy, the priorities of refloating pursued by the government in the current process of democratization toward the demonopolization of the national economy, the accomplishment of privatization, the price liberalization and a gradual convertibility of the leu.

The guests stated their satisfaction at the explanations given, assessing the government's initiatives as very useful and interesting.

The interview of the European Parliament's delegation with the minister of justice and representatives of the Ministry of the Interior focussed on the penal and civil competences of the respective institutions in the current context of separation of the powers in the state.

They also discussed aspects of the June 13-15 events that were still puzzling to the members of the delegation of the European Parliament.

Sibiu Groups Launch Appeal of Support for Moldova

AU1211111790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0956 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—The "Humanitas" and "Christiana" associations of Sibiu have launched an appeal to the population of the whole country calling for assistance for the Romanians living between the Prut and the Dniester.

The Sibiu Prefect's Office is requested to release the "Libertatea" bank fund so that part of it may be used as aid to the Moldovans across the Prut.

Moldovan Economic Minister on Joint Ties

AU1211193390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1822 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—In a talk with Constantin Pavel, "ROMPRES" special envoy to Kishinev, C.A. Tampiza, minister of national economy of the Republic of Moldova, said the socioeconomic situation was critical. Hard times lie ahead all the more so as an unknown economic development stage the transition to a market economy has opened, he opined. A prerequisite for our passage to market relations, he said, is the creation of equal conditions for all economic agents, therefore, for private property, too.

The national economy minister said there was a government programme providing for the transition to a market economy and added that the government's outlook on that would be shortly examined by Parliament.

Referring to the guidelines of that programme, he mentioned, inter alia, the process of privatizing the economy and encouraging free initiative, an adequate financial, crediting and fiscal policy to create the economic levers needed in the transition period. He also highlighted the need for measures to protect the consumer market and liberalize prices, a liberalization which, in his opinion, should be paralleled by the creation of funds for the social protection of the individuals. Furthermore, special attention is given to other sectors of the social life, such as education, instruction, health care, etc., to which substantial funds will be allocated from the state budget.

As for cooperation with Romania, he said favourable conditions existed for its development, not only in the cultural and artistic areas, but also in the economic field. We have entered a stage in which relations with Romania will be the most developed ones. So far, he said, probably precisely because we are relatives, all the ties we tried to establish were blocked and we know why and by whom.

Solidarity Rally for Bessarabia Held in Bucharest

AU1111172490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1556 GMT 11 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/11/1990—At the call launched by the Bucharest-Kishinev Cultural Society hundreds of Bucharest citizens of all ages and social categories gathered in the Revolution Square in the capital city on Sunday [11 November] expressing their solidarity with the Romanians across the Prut as well as their firm protest against the current tendencies of disintegrating the Moldovan Republic. The meeting lasted about two hours. Mr. Gheorghe Gavrila Copil made reference to important moments in the history of the Romanian land across the Prut, presented aspects of the current events in the Moldovan Republic and made an appeal to unity and solidarity with the fate of the Romanians across the Prut now "in such a difficult and complex situation." Those present chanted slogans against the Ribbentrop-Molotov Treaty, the disintegration of the Moldovan state and for the maintenance of sovereignty and integrity of the Moldovan Republic. Soloists and participants sang songs of love for the nation and the motherland. It was announced that a national account was opened for funds to be gathered to build dwellings for the Romanians returned from Siberia and other regions of the Soviet Union where they had been deported. Student Oleg Patrascu from the Moldovan Republic, present at the meeting, thanked the participants for the feelings expressed and spoke about the current difficulties of the Romanians across the Prut.

IMF Supports Government's Reform Program

AU1211194290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1848 GMT 12 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/11/1990—The International Monetary Fund backs the current Romanian Government's program of reforms. The fast implementation of its components and the outstanding importance of the application of the price liberalization were the major themes approached by an IMF delegation headed by Messrs. Moshin S. Khan, head of the IMF mission to Romania and Gerrit P.J. Hogeweg, deputy executive director on Monday, November 12,in talks with Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman.

They discussed also concrete ways in which both on short term and in a longer run the IMF may help Romania to implement the reform, to pass fast to the market economy at lowest possible social costs.

After the meeting with the prime minister, Moshin Khan stated that they were in Romania for the first time, to discuss a program to assist Romania, especially in the economic reform and the passage to the market economy which they wholeheartedly supported. He said they would try everything possible, technically and in other forms as well, to contribute to the reform program. The relations between the IMF and the Romanian government, he showed, are already stable and there is hope for their further development. He said they will probably return to Romania.

Minister of Finance Teodor Stolojan, who had, he too, an interview with the IMF delegation said they had very useful talks on the government's program and the IMF assistance. I can tell you, he said, that we have no difference of views on this program, on the rhythm of promoting it and, above all, on the measures we have to take further on to step up the passage to the market economy.

Three Options for Privatization Discussed

AU1311165490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1701 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/11/1990—Roughly speaking, three different concepts are now at work in Romania, Ilie Serbanescu, D. Econ., opines in his article "Privatization Where To?" published by "LUMEA-AZI" magazine. The first belongs to Economist Constantin Cojocaru, an American resident over the last eight years, who came back to Romania under the political changes after the December 1989 revolution. It promotes full private ownership and has been much talked about lately, being shared by a number of trade unions.

The second belongs to the present government and provides for 30 percent private ownership, the rest being in principle subject to privatization through a selling-purchasing process according to a yet unspecified time schedule. The third is a liberal approach to the matter with a stress on the selling-purchasing action. Here a new element occurs: The liberals gathered under the name of "the Young Wing" although adepts of selling and purchasing bonds given the current economic and social framework, propose distribution of two thirds of the national productive assets. There are still other variants put forward by various economists, political parties and trade union circles.

Conclusions are still to be drawn. In order to get a concrete picture, it would be worth mentioning that Poland and Hungary are applying the selling-purchasing formula with insignificant results along the lines of a real privatization. Nobody seems so far to dare adopt the full or majority private ownership solution. The mixed or intermediary formula promoted by the government, one which might be also considered by Czechoslovakia, is likely to have relevant results only after becoming operative, but, by its private ownership percentage, is closer to the selling-purchasing option. Unfortunately, while awaiting for its implementation, much time is wasted.

Price Liberalization Continues To Incite Reaction

Protest Rally Held in Cismigiu

AU1411163690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Numerous demonstrators today rallied at the entrance to Cismigiu Park in front of Bucharest's mayor's office demonstrating against the latest measures taken by the government regarding the liberalization of prices.

It is an authorized meeting and has been organized by the National Peasants Christian Democratic Party—of the Maniu-Mihalache leaning—the Liberal Democratic Party, the Independent National Peasants Christian Democratic Party, whose provisional Headquarters are in Craiova, and by the Christian Democratic Union.

The purpose of organizing this demonstration was also to express solidarity with the Brasov workers, who three years ago demonstrated demanding the release of the then political detainees and the reinstatement of their rights. The demonstrators also asked Parliament and the country's president to take a clear, official stance in connection with the difficult political situation in Bessarabia. Some of the demonstrators, carrying placards with antigovernment inscriptions, then moved in the direction of University Square.

Continued Press Reaction Noted

AU1411192690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1820 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/11/1990—"AZI," the press organ of the National Salvation Front: Demonstrations, strikes or poisonous words will not bring more food (...) waiting in line a year ago we swore would do our utmost to get rid of the tyrant, no matter the difficulties (...) today it is our duty to help the country through, together with the people we pinned our hopes on when we gave them our votes.

"TARA," a weekly of the Agrarian Democratic Party: Gradually, we understand the price-liberalization mechanism. And even if the shelves in the store are empty we realize—prompted not so much by logic as by necessity—that they will soon be filled with everything we need.

"DREPTATEA," the press organ of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party: To make up for its own serious mistakes the government needs loans. But, as is known, the GATT approves of loans only when (...) measures are taken to even the balance. Which is exactly what the National Salvation Front and its government are trying to do, out of panic, by reducing the living standard 33 percent. Our acting government is incompetent, it is a bad administrator of the country and it

shows no scruples when presenting the situation (...). Before history judges it, the people will judge it more thoroughly than but as harshly as it had done to as the Ceausescus. [sentence as received]

"TINERETUL LIBER," an independent newspaper for all young people: The government asks the people to accept sacrifices, which they present in an euphemistic manner, in an attempt at changing the reality of the causes behind the crisis.

"ROMANIA LIBERA," an independent newspaper of opinions, information and feature reports: A "miners' saga," planned as that of June 13-15 was (...). To raise prices several times is sheer defiance (...). Such a shock therapy is just like a spectacular dive in a swimming pool with no water in [it].

The economy is on the brink of inflation and the priority given to the liberalization of prices shall open broad avenues to such a situation (...). The liberalization of prices means the liberalization of economic chaos.

"VIITORUL," the press organ of the National Liberal Party: The government goes beyond its competence (...). We consider as altogether unprincipled the position of the government which did not think it useful to discuss such economic initiatives of capital importance in Parliament.

"ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO," a Magyar-language democratic republican newspaper: After months of lethargy everything has become urgent to the government, which makes one surprise after another and surprises even the Parliament, which it controls through the agency of the National Salvation Front.

"ADEVARUL," an independent newspaper: "At least from now on we will no longer believe in miracles (...) finally understanding the party has been so long that it has become boring and we must put an end to it.

"ECONOMISTUL," an independent periodical: As long as there is a common point of view on the need to liberalize prices there are chances to harmonize opinions on detail as well. However, we risk to witness a dialogue of the deaf.

"DEMOCRATIA," a periodical of civic information and opinions: A dagger stuck into our hearts (...). Just like in the years of dictatorship poverty is a state secret (...). Owing to the expensive prices in store for us we will stagnate this year, next year and many years ahead.

"CUVINTUL," an attitude-taking weekly: Poverty clad in new clothes (...). What the government calls liberalization of prices might virtually lead to social tension (...) to more difficulties in the period of economic transition.

"EXPRES," an independent weekly: "A first failure of the Government Programme (...). Ours is a government that is unable to govern. It does not have the instruments it needs to put decisions at work. Mr. Petre Roman's liberal cabinet governs an essentially communist administrative apparatus. All the decisions made and all the laws suggested by the government are excellent (...). Their application, however, is disastrous. Once inside the mechanism of bureaucratic structures, each step and each law turn, most often than not, in their opposite (...) the shock therapy programme will be a substantial (...). Which is the failure of a perestroyka-type policy, of the measures taken exclusively from the top.

BBC Apologizes for Erroneous Reporting on Prices

AU0911201090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1855 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/11/1990—The BBC says again 'mea culpa': A regrettable error slipped in our 1800 hrs programme of 3 November in a news item on the demonstration in Bucharest University Square. The item read that "the demonstrators protested against the decision of Roman's Government to abolish price control, excepting basic food stuffs, electricity, heating, oil and rents." By mistake the radio announcer omitted the word "excepting." The impression was thus created that the government decided to raise the prices of these basic products and services in particular. We apologize for this error which distorted, unintentionally, the decision of Roman's Government, decision actually presented clearly and accurately in other news cast and in our programme "Topical News."

PNT-cd Says Iliescu Responsible for June Events

AU1311090790 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Nov 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The President and Article 324"]

[Text] The following document on behalf of the Tulcea National Peasants Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd] was registered under No. 69759 on 22 October at the General Prosecutor's Office and was addressed to General Prosecutor Gheorghe Robu:

In view of the great material damage and the large number of wounded and dead caused by the bandit attack of the miners who terrorized the capital city for two days;

Considering that the named Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, is guilty of calling the miners, thus becoming the moral author of all disasters caused them; and, taking account of the fact that his guilt is publicly known and proved by the thanks he expressed to the "terrorist-miners" on their departure;

We demand:

Romania's Prosecutor General—in applying Article 221 of the Penal Code—begin penal procedures against the aforementioned president.

The deeds he is accused of are part of Article 324 of the Penal Code.

Because democracy means, among other things, equality for all our country's citizens before the law, it is necessary for Romania's Prosecutor General to prove this fact. PNT-cd President Ilie Adrian

Constanta Railroad Employees Protest Oct Strike

AU0911201490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 9 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/11/1990—The Committee of the Free Union of the Constanta Railway Central Department employees, numbering over four hundred members, has sent a protest to Romania's president, to the president of the Senate and the speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, as well as to the prime minister, to the minister of public works, transport and physical planning, to the Prosecutor General, to the minister of justice and to the minister of the interior, demanding a national commission be created to investigate into the circumstances which led to the October 11 general strike of the units under the Constanta Railway Department, called by the Steering Committee of the Free Unions Alliance in the area. The protest shows that the people responsible for starting that strike bear all penal, civil, disciplinary and material consequences for it and the serious moral and material damage caused by that action.

Referring to the way the strike started, the protest points out that most units were not consulted. The claims of the strikers, it reads, did not originate with the unions in the basic units but were merely the result of an instigation by the Steering Committee of the Alliance which is operating illegally, being created in an undemocratic manner.

The protest asks the relevant bodies to take necessary steps to end such actions by irresponsible people that could have catastrophic effects on the whole country.

TV Trade Union Protests Station Management

AU0811213790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2107 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/11/1990—The Romanian Television Free Union staged on Thursday afternoon a meeting of protest against the TV management's refusal to have a dialogue with union leaders in order to settle their social and economic claims. Some of the union leaders speaking at the meeting demanded those claims be solved as soon as possible.

The Independent Artistic Union of the Romanian Television had, in a protest previously conveyed to the press, delimited themselves from the meeting organized by the other union of the same institution.

PCR Trial Continues; Defendants Fail To Appear

AU0811215090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2122 GMT 8 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 8/11/1990—The trial of the former members of the Executive Political Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [PCR] Central Committee, who are charged with genocide, was to continue on Thursday with the hearing of defendants Constantin Dascalescu and Gheorghe Radulescu. The two did not come in court, pleading poor health that prevents them from traveling.

Constantin Dascalescu, who is under medical care at the Fundeni Hospital, is recovering from a recent prostate operation, Gheorghe Radulescu is undergoing intensive treatment at the "Gheorghe Marinescu" neurologic hospital, for depressive anxios psychosis somatically maintained and aggravated.

During the same session the defense asked for a temporary cancellation of the investigative arrest for Defendants Gheorghe David, Mihai Gere, Gheorghe Pana, Stefan Andrei, owing to the circumstances of their having been evicted from their state-owned houses by the Bucharest Mayoralty, and their consequent need to move their families to other lodgings. The court will decide upon the request in the next session.

The court permitted Defendant Gheorghe Pana's wife to use a savings-account book worth over 52,000 lei.

FEC Belittles Federation, Confederation Question

AU1411084390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Bogus Dilemma of the Federalists and Confederalists"]

[Text] The Federal Executive Council [FEC] considers that the constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia can be overcome only by accelerated reform, and the reform process can only be accelerated by adopting amendments to the SFRY Constitution.

In August of this year, delegates to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly unanimously (with only two abstentions) adopted a proposal of the FEC and the Executive Council of the Assembly of Bosnia and Hercegovina for amendments to the SFRY Constitution. As part of the procedure for changing the federal Constitution, the proposal was sent to all the republican assemblies and the Vojvodina Provincial Assembly for ratification, which had to be obtained by 20 September at the latest.

As the SSINF [Federal Secretariat for Information] reports, the assemblies of Bosnia and Hercegovina and Montenegro have so far given their agreement. The Macedonian Assembly gave its agreement to all the amendments except for one. The Croatian Assembly has agreed to five amendments, but is only willing to ratify this agreement when conditions have been secured for all assemblies, including that of Kosovo, to state their views on these amendments. The Slovene Assembly considers that the proposals were submitted in an unconstitutional way, and therefore does not wish to declare itself, and the Serbian and Vojvodina assemblies have still not put ratification of proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution on the agenda.

In the meantime, trends in Yugoslav society have thrown into the foreground an artificially formulated dilemma: a federation or confederation?

The federal government and Ante Markovic have repeated several times that this is the wrong question, because the issue is not whether Yugoslavia wants to be a federation or confederation, but whether Yugoslavia wants a market economy or not, whether it wants to be rule-of-law state capable of guaranteeing all its citizens human, political, and national rights, and whether it wants the individual, the entrepreneur, the worker, or merely a member of a nationality to be at the center of attention of this state's economic policy.

These are questions which both federalists and confederalists unanimously evade, because they would then have to answer some others. For instance, what about property, whose transformation into private property and not state property is a necessary precondition for establishing the new political and economic order? Who would benefit from the retention of the old social property, or its transformation into state property? The new market economy relations, or the "old-new" political structures and their political monopolies?

Because there is no readiness to answer these questions clearly and directly, a bogus, completely "cuckoo's egg" dilemma is being thrust in front of the Yugoslav peoples: Do they favor a federation or confederation?

Belgrade TV Refuses To Relay Markovic Speech

AU1411195490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] At an urgently convened news conference for Yugoslav and foreign journalists in the Federal Executive Council before tomorrow's session of the SFRY Assembly, the main topic was the refusal by Belgrade Television to carry the live relay of Ante Markovic's speech. Here is a report by Mirjana Trajkovic:

[Trajkovic] It could be seen that there was really a special public atmosphere on the eve of the SFRY Assembly session because an extremely large number of Yugoslav and foreign journalists accepted the invitation to come and hear what Prime Minister Ante Markovic will say tomorrow.

The reason for this was completely different; it was in fact Belgrade Television's refusal to carry a live relay of the session of the two Assembly chambers, with the explanation that the Serbian public is not interested.

Deputy Federal Information Minister Mustafa Cengic said that the session will be relayed by all other television stations, except for Novi Sad, which, as he said, will do whatever Belgrade Television decides.

Cengic assessed the decision of Belgrade Television as a continuation of a campaign against the Federal Executive Council, an attempt to impose a total information blockade and censorship of the Federal Government, and still another step in the decline of the journalistic profession.

Cengic clearly stated that Belgrade Television has not made such a decision on its own. He did not want to mention any names, although there were such demands. He only said that it is known who the director and the chief and responsible editor are, but that the names of the people who are standing behind Belgrade Television are much more important.

Stressing that there is no excuse for Belgrade Television's move, nevertheless a journalist with REUTERS asked whether this was done because an electoral campaign is under way in Serbia and because in recent times one does not know when Ante Markovic speaks as prime minister and when he speaks as head of the Alliance of Reform Forces.

Foreign journalists tried to ask some other questions connected with tomorrow's SFRY Assembly session—such as whether it is possible that tomorrow someone

might demand a vote of confidence in the federal government—but they did not get any answers, because the representative of the Federal Executive Council was not authorized to answer such questions.

Government Condemns Decision

LD1411200990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government spokesman today accused Belgrade Television of depriving the people of their constitutional and civilizational right to timely information about questions of vital importance to the country.

The reaction came as a result of Belgrade Television's decision not to broadcast Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic's report in the federal parliament tomorrow.

Markovic will report on the current political and economic situation in the country and set out the economic policy measures for next year.

The government spokesman assessed Belgrade Television's move as a continuation of attacks on Markovic's cabinet and an attempt to impose an information blockade.

Belgrade Television, which covers the area of the republic of Serbia, had on several occasions earlier refused to broadcast certain Markovic's speeches, which was met with the government's disapproval.

Serbia is the fiercest opponent of the reform-oriented federal prime minister's moves, mainly his policy on agriculture.

Belgrade Television was also joined by the television of the province of Vojvodina (which is part of Serbia), while other Yugoslav TV centers will broadcast the prime minister's speech live.

Yutel To Carry Speech Live

LD1411230190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2051 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—Due to great interest expressed by the public in Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic's address to the SFRY Assembly, the Yutel channel will carry the FEC president's speech live tomorrow, 15 November, between 1000 and 1130 [0900 and 1030 GMT] on UHF channel for the Belgrade area.

TANJUG learned this from the Yutel editorial board.

Secretary Comments on Proposed Information Law

LD1311204390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—The law on information which the federal government proposes would do away with the monopoly on informing in Yugoslavia, and mass media would get competition, Yugoslav Government Information Secretary Darko Marin (?stated) in the federal parliament on Tuesday [13 November].

Marin drew attention to the Legislation and Law Commission that the draft law did away with all banning of distribution of the press and with censorship. But the law demanded greater responsibility from the media.

Marin revealed that foreigners can invest capital into Yugoslav media but their share cannot exceed 49 percent of the overall capital value. The material needs of the Yugoslav media were such that without a marked rise in the engagement of foreign capital it stood no chance of joining world communication trends, Marin set out.

Mesic on Federation's Future, Croat Ambitions

AU1111215590 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Stipe Mesic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, by Jadranko Sinkovic; place and date not given: "It Would Be an Anachronism To Break Yugoslavia"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Sinkovic] Is a confederation Croatia's main aim, or is it only a transitional tactical solution? In other words, is a confederation the tactic or the strategy of Croatian politicians?

[Mesic] Let us be frank, our aim is a sovereign republic, our aim is to be the sovereign owners of our resources, our aim is to organize our society in a sovereign way. The confederation is a means to achieve this, but not the only tactical means. In fact, what is a confederation? This is practically the only possible solution for Croatia, and all other republics, to become sovereign and subsequently agree on joint elements. Only a confederation can enable us to create sovereign states, which is the first precondition for a new historic treaty. [passage omitted]

[Sinkovic] Does the world political context not impose the need to retain the idea of Yugoslavia as the frame community?

[Mesic] Breaking up this community so that everybody would have a separate state would probably be an anachronism. Nobody would benefit from that. However, we all need a different kind of organization. After all we have built everything, all our economic and infrastructural facilities, with joint funds. Some invested more some invested less, but there is no reason why everybody should not benefit.

What dose a confederation mean? In a sense a confederation means a common market, and a common market means a customs union. Therefore, we should do away with mutual import duties and conduct certain businesses jointly. In this way we would reduce rather than increase our costs.

Concerning the so-called world context, it is clear that there is interest in peace in our country and that problems should be resolved in a democratic way. There is also interest in this country remaining as it is. As regards the kind of solutions that we are going to have within this country—this is left to us to decide in a democratic way. This means that nobody is insisting that Yugoslavia be federal or confederal, that it should have one type of organization or another. Therefore, within the existing framework we can form a confederation, a union of states, an association of states, or something else, but, of course, in a democratic way. [passage omitted]

[Sinkovic] The public has been very concerned about the possibility of a civil war breaking out and about the possibility of the Balkan version of Cromwell's revolution which we, concerning the founding of national states, have not bypassed yet.

[Mesic] This is peoples greatest fear, but I think that the psychosis of a civil war was artificially created. The persistent insistence on the subordinate position of the Serbian people in Croatia is creating a psychosis of an imminent civil war so that certain solutions that are currently unacceptable could be imposed. A civil war simply cannot happen.

[Sinkovic] Do you really believe in that?

[Mesic] Absolutely.

[Sinkovic] However, the proponents of a doctrine about a limited sovereignty do not in principle have any other means to win but to use force. There is no politically calm, reasonable, or democratic solution that supports this theory.

[Mesic] It is clear that every change of borders through the expansion of one state at the expense of another, must result in a civil war. However, this would be impossible to carry out. In a civil war the Yugoslav People's Army would vanish. There is no doubt about that. It is also a fact that Yugoslavia would disappear too. A lot of blood would be shed and there would be no more federal Yugoslavia, or confederal Yugoslavia, or the Yugoslav People's Army which is supposed to be an integrating factor.

If the sensible people realize this, then they would try to avert a civil war and favor negotiations. Those who want to accomplish other than democratic results will in fact not be able to do it with a civil war. Therefore, it is better to democratically, through a well argued way establish relations in this country than to shed blood. [passage omitted]

[Sinkovic] Demands for autonomy and national sovereignty in Bosnia-Hercegovina have a somewhat more complex basis. It appears that resolving this problem in a basic and democratic way will be an important factor for Yugoslavia as a whole.

[Mesic] Yes, the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is different because there are three nations living there. However, one nation alone cannot enjoy the privilege of, for example, creating the so-called Serbian National Council. The way this council was founded has no legal basis. Even the so-called referendum in Croatia did not have any legal basis. We are talking about a group of people who imposed the method of artificially creating political difficulties in another republic. If there were also the Croatian National Council, the Muslim National Council, and so forth, then we would have three republics in one. This cannot be. Bosnia-Hercegovina must resolve its problems by itself. [passage omitted]

[Sinkovic] Are you satisfied with the work conditions in the SFRY Presidency? Is there a danger of you, as a member of the SFRY Presidency, because of your political views, being deprived of some information within the existing structure of political information dissemination?

[Mesic] All information received by one member of the SFRY Presidency is received by all other members. We all work under the same conditions. We also have people who work with every member of the Presidency. Every member of the Presidency has his own office, a chief of his office, an economic adviser, an adviser for general system, and so forth. All members receive the same information.

[Sinkovic] Who are your advisers? Have you changed your team?

[Mesic] I am still without an adviser for economic matters. I have yet to decide on anyone. I have not changed my team because I think that if I impose one method of work my associates will either accept or reject it. If they accept it, there is no reason for me to change them.

Loncar on SFRY's Place in Changing Europe

AU1411114990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Nov 90 p 8

[Unattributed report: "A Balance of Interests Instead of a Balance of Forces"]

[Text] On the eve of the session of the Standing Committee of the Permanent Conference of the Local and Regional Authorities in Europe, which begins today in Dubrovnik, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, gave an interview to KOMUNA, the magazine of the towns and communes of Yugoslavia, from which we are carrying the following excerpts:

[KOMUNA] Europe is uniting. The strong processes that are leading to Europe 1992 are entering their final stage. Could you explain to us Yugoslavia's attitudes regarding current European events?

[Loncar] The changes are monumental. Europe is uniting. Nevertheless, everything is fluid and will continue to be so for a long time, even after Europe 1992. The stability of the positive processes is constantly being tested.

Let us get things straight, I am not a skeptic. The incipient processes are irrevocable, there can be no return to a situation that is identical to the earlier one, but we must know that we are now moving from one complex situation into another one, which is even more complex. This is because, no matter how lethal, bloc logic and ideological doctrines were a very logical scheme in relation to this far higher level, where we are moving from a balance of forces to a balance of interests.

A Totally New Situation

This is a Europe that we want to see, whether it is called "whole and free," "confederal," or "a common home." The ground should be well prepared for such a Europe, and that means certain common structural trends should be coordinated and the multifarious European pieces should be harmoniously fitted into a mosaic of fertile joint interaction.

[KOMUNA] Joining modern European currents is certainly of exceptional importance for our country and serious efforts are being made in this context. We are also aware of your great personal commitment in this field. Could you tell us more about this?

[Loncar] I have quite a lot of involvement in this. False modesty is not in place here. Finally, this is my duty, as the head of the foreign affairs service and a minister in a government which has made joining European currents one of its priorities.

If I say that in the last year I have had around 80 meetings in which there have been discussion in one way or another on, as you put it, "joining modern European currents," and that I have been involved in about a dozen European multilateral meetings in order to promote this interest of ours, then I do not expect only suspicious or malicious people to say that it is not important how much you do but what you do. This question is quite clear.

In this respect, we also arrive at the question—what is the widest range of the foreign affairs service considering our domestic situation? How much can it really do while conflicts and controversies on the domestic scene are eroding the credibility of the incipient processes and are being transferred onto relations with foreign countries?

On the one hand, we have in the last year entered quite a new situation in relations with European integrational bodies: We have submitted an application to join the Council of Europe; We have initiated a process to reach agreement on associating with the EEC; We have worked toward an agreement on a free trade zone with EFTA; We have requested full membership in the OECD. We have, therefore, done the part of our work which involves institutions, while internal processes—and these are all conditions in the set European schedule which include a multiparty federal parliament, market economy, de-ideologization, a basic change to criminal legislation, respect for human rights in practice—have not yet been completed. What else can the foreign affairs service do? Outside the country, we have been pointing out and demonstrating that processes are under way at home and at home we are saying that they must definitely speed up.

Opposite Effects of the Past

I am a sincere advocate of activity toward the world having to be diverse but, because of the nature of my job, I was also unfortunately one of the first to be able to see how many of our visits—when, as Professor Miric put it, "the baggage of the 19th century is brought along"—produce the opposite effects. Nevertheless, once everything is calculated, we as a country are moving in European trends with great effort and great understanding: It seems that the old and experienced Europe is better at seeing where the essence lies and where the superficiality is.

[KOMUNA] Since 1989, Yugoslavia has had the status of special guest in the Council of Europe. Does this status, the ratification of some documents of the Council of Europe, and other forms of cooperation represent a step further in establishing Yugoslavia's full membership in the Council of Europe? Could you tell us when Yugoslavia will be officially accepted into the Council of Europe?

[Loncar] I can answer the first part of your question only affirmatively. I could certainly not give you a specific answer to the second part. The desire exists on both sides, but the ball is, if I may put it like this, in both courts. In this respect, we expect that all the other conditions for acceptance will be fulfilled by the end of the year: multiparty elections, the rule of law, and full respect for human rights. The Council of Europe expects to be assured that all this really has become Yugoslav reality. The Council of Europe needs at least as much time to make its decision as we do to meet these by no means formal conditions. I hope that neither of us will delay unnecessarily.

[KOMUNA] Are certain forms of regional association and cooperation also a road to a common family of European countries, and if so, to what extent?

[Loncar] They definitely are. I would even dare to go as far as to claim that the option of European integration—which is the ultimate aim—will be achieved mostly or in great part through regional groupings like the Pentagonal talks. This is because it is in these groupings that real possibilities are beginning for mutually useful cooperation and through them differences and divisions are being overcome in the easiest way. For example, these are differences in the level of development, which are obvious, or divisions in the sense of countries' current

affiliation or non-affiliation to existing European institutions and integrational systems.

Everyone is today seeking modalities which will more fully link them with others in the field of economic relations, all forms of communication, the movement of capital, and so on, because even now, one must think about Europe tomorrow and one's place in the joint economic, legal, social, and ecological arena. Regional association in this arena is increasingly being seen as one of the most effective options.

Possible Loncar Visit to Iraq Still in Doubt

LD1511172390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1157 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat has not yet received a definitive answer from Iraq about a possible visit there by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs, within the ambit of his Middle East tour which began in Tehran two days ago. Mr. Loncar is continuing his visit today in Damascus and should complete the journey tomorrow in Amman.

This was stated today by Nikola Skrelji, assistant federal foreign affairs secretary, when answering a question tabled by a delegate in the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Despite the fact that there has been no answer yet from Baghdad, there is a possibility that Loncar will go to the Iraqi capital. Of course, everything depends on the Iraqis, said Skrelji. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Foreign Secretary's Mideast Tour

WA1411171690

For reportage on the mideast visit of the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar to Iran, Jordan, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, and Egypt including talks held with Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati, please see the corresponding sections of the 14 November Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Delegation Membership to CSCE Talks Announced

LD1311204690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1725 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency decided today that the country will be represented by one joint delegation at the upcoming meeting of the heads of state or government, participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

The Yugoslav delegation will include President of the State Presidency Dr Borisav Jovic, Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, and one representative from each of the six Yugoslav republics.

The CSCE meeting in Paris November 19-21 will be attended also by several eminent Yugoslav personalities in cultural and public life who live and work in Paris.

Before the Yugoslav State Presidency made this decision on Tuesday [13 November], some of the Yugoslav republics had expressed the desire to participate separately, with their own representatives, in the CSCE meeting.

Albanians Said Fleeing to Macedonia Almost Daily

AU1411083390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 90 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Fourteen Fugitives in 10 Days"]

[Text] Skopje—Fourteen Albanian citizens have escaped from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Socialist Republic [SR] of Macedonia over the last 10 days. A six-member family fled on 22 October, a group of seven arrived three days earlier, and one Albanian citizen crossed the border illegally on 25 October.

Because of the increasingly difficult political and economic situation in Albania, Albanian citizens are crossing the border to the SR of Macedonia virtually daily. In the first nine months of this year alone, 197 Albanian citizens fled from Albania to the SR of Macedonia, of which one was of Macedonian origin. Almost all are young people, the most of whom reported themselves to the Yugoslav authorities.

Of the above-mentioned number of fugitives from Albania, 183 have been enabled to move to the West with the help of the High Commission for Refugees, while 14 have been returned to Albania.

Albanian citizens most commonly flee out of political motives.

Macedonian Front Protests 'Irregular' Elections

LD1311235290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1929 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Struga, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—A two-hour protest meeting of Macedonians was held in Revolution Square, in Struga.

It was convened, as stated during the meeting, because of irregular election procedures in the Albanian-populated regions in western Macedonia. Representatives of the parties that joined the Macedonian National Unity Front—VMRO [Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], MAG [expanson unknown], People's Party, and the Macedonian Peasants' Party—filed one after another on the platform in front of 20,000 or so residents of Struga, Ohrid, Debar, and neighboring areas. A representative of the Socialist Alliance-Socialist Party of Macedonia also addressed the meeting.

In an atmosphere of heightened emotion, the speakers asked for the elections in Macedonia to be declared null and void and for the formation of an interim officials' government by all parties on a parity basis.

Vehement criticism was addressed to "regime parties", and especially against Ante Markovic, the federal prime minister and chairman of the main initiative committee of the Alliance of Reformist Forces.

Irregularities Said Organized

LD1411130390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2132 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Kumanovo, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity, League for Democracy, People's Party, and All-Macedonian Action party organized a protest meeting in Kumanovo tonight. The representatives of these parties said that the election in Macedonia was irregular and illegal. Speakers said that the Albanians, in an organized manner, prevented Macedonians and other citizens from voting, the secret vote was not ensured, lists of voters were irregular and unsorted, and people who could only identify themselves with travel documents were allowed to vote. It was also said that some voters had been allowed to vote on behalf of several citizens and that the organization during the preparations and the voting had been poor.

It was stressed that the authorities had not secured identical conditions for the electoral activity of all the parties, and the Alliance of Reformist Forces had been openly criticized. The situation surrounding the elections in Macedonia, according to representatives of these parties, played and is playing into the hands of Albanian separatists. They demanded that the elections throughout the republic be cancelled. The meeting was attended by about 5,000 members of these parties and other citizens from Kumanovo, Tetovo, Gostivar, Skopje, and other parts of Macedonia.

Macedonian National Parties Call For Protests

AU1411214990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 90

[Branka Nanevska report from Skopje]

[Text] Discontented with the work and decisions of the republican Electoral Commission concerning its annulling Sunday's [11 November] elections in only 32 electoral stations, members of the Front for Macedonian National Unity have issued a proclamation calling on the Macedonian people throughout the republic to come to Skopje tomorrow at 1200 [1100 GMT] and hold a meeting against, as is said, the Albanian occupation of Macedonia and to overthrow the bureaucratic and incompetent government by fair means or foul, because it disgraced the Macedonian state by holding these allegedly democratic elections. They demand that the elections be completely annulled, a parity government formed which would consist of representatives of all registered political parties, and new elections organized.

At the same time, the People's Organizational Committee from Gostivar issued a call for a meeting of justice to be held in front of the Macedonian Assembly at 1400.

Therefore, nationalist euphoria has obviously not ceased in Macedonia. [word indistinct] calls announce a catastrophe, an interethnic conflict of wide proportions, and the halting of the democratic transformation of the republic that has just started. Who has made all these scenarios in this republic and who can benefit from them today on the very day when the SFRY Assembly is in session discussing such important issues?

An endless number of questions are asked, and the people are very upset and greatly fear tomorrow.

Reacting to this situation, Skopje Radio has offered its microphones and rallied the leaders of almost all parties who are now trying to calm down the people and the passions. It is not known how successful they will be. Most participants in the talks appeal to reason and dignity, propose an agreement on joint appearance at the repeated elections, and call on the people to preserve peace and prevent interethnic conflicts.

Members of the National Bloc do not give up their proclamation and their main arguments are: allowing people to vote with a passport, violation of the secrecy of the vote, and the fact that some Macedonians were physically prevented from fulfilling their citizen's duty.

A representative of the Party of Democratic Prosperity has denied the accusations on manipulations and improper behavior of the Albanians at the elections and warned of the danger of a conflict of larger proportions, if, as he put it, the anti-Albanian campaign in Macedonia continues.

A representative of the Reform Forces Alliance in Macedonia is of the opinion that the formation of an interim government is an undemocratic act and an opportunity for a dictatorship.

The biggest surprise was when the representative of the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] dissociated himself from the call to solve problems with force, and publicly announced that the decision to withdraw candidates from the electoral race will be reexamined, because, as he put it, the confidence that the people invested in them obliges them to become serious, to respect the awakened national feelings, albeit not allow them to be abused.

It is left to us to wait [word indistinct] until tomorrow in order to see whom the people will trust. We would like to believe that the citizens of Macedonia and all Macedonians will be able to correctly assess the seriousness of the situation and their responsibility for the future.

Vote To Be Repeated in 54 Macedonian Regions

AU1511080290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 15 Nov 90

[Text] According to the latest information of the republican Electoral Commission on the elections in Macedonia, of the 120 deputy seats available in the republican parliament, 12 seats have been secured as of last night.

The League of Communists of Macedonia-Party of Democratic Transformation and the Party for Democratic Prosperity have secured five seats each. The Alliance of Reform Forces and the Socialist Party of Macedonia have one seat each.

Due to irregularities in the election procedure, elections will be annulled and repeated in 54 constituencies.

Mesic Says Albanians in Kosovo Deprived of Rights

LD1311213390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] Pristina, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—Stipe Mesic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, said in an interview in yesterday's SKEDNIJA that Albanians today are deprived of all their rights. However, Mesic added, since no one has given the Albanians their province and their rights in the federation as a present, no one, not even the republic of Serbia, can take them away. In view of this, Mesic said, the provinces should also be allowed to express their view of Yugoslavia's future order.

Asked how this was possible when the provinces, as constitutive elements of the federation, are not mentioned in either the federal concept or the proposals for a confederation, Mesic replied by stressing the need for reinstating the Assembly, the Executive Council, and all other organs in Kosovo. In other words, Mesic stated, Kosovo has a legally elected Assembly and Executive Council and people should be allowed to go back to work and to take part in a democratic dialogue under normal circumstances.

In response to the remark that the SFRY Presidency has been passive as regards the Albanian issue in Yugoslavia and that it has too easily endorsed standpoints detrimental to the Albanians, Mesic said: "The Presidency has not been completely passive. On the contrary, it has been very active in disenfranchising the Albanians."

Albanians must be allowed to declare themselves freely and, in some way, they have already done that through their delegates. The Albanians are not settlers in Kosovo, Mesic said among other things. They are indigenous to Kosovo where they have lived from time immemorial and should therefore enjoy the same rights as other people.

Except, perhaps, for some individuals, Mesic does not see a single force in Serbia prepared to sit and discuss solutions to the Kosovo problem. He is however of the view that, after the elections in Serbia, negotiations with representatives of Kosovo Albanians will be inevitable regardless of which party wins.

Mesic also insists that nothing would happen to the Serbs of Kosovo if free elections were held in the province. The Serbs would lose nothing but their privileges, he states.

The interview with Mesic was published on four full pages under the headline "Albanians Should Decide on Their Future Independently."

Kosovo Presidency Meets; Region's Future Viewed

AU1511094590 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 11 Nov 90 pp 4-5

[Blerim Reka and Emin Azemi report: "No Talks About Yugoslavia Without Kosovo"]

[Text] Pristina, 10 Nov—Three principal events marked the end of this week in Kosovo: the publication of the stands of the Kosovo Presidency on overcoming the Yugoslav and Kosovo constitutional crisis, the arrival in Pristina of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights delegation, and the Kosovo Democratic Alliance's [DSK] regular news conference. Concerning the activity of the Kosovo opposition, the news has also arrived that another Kosovo political party, the Kosovo Peasants Party, was registered yesterday at the Federal Secretariat for Jurisprudence and Administration. Now two opposition parties are legally active, the DSK and the Kosovo Peasants Party, while at a humanitarian level, the "Mother Theresa" Charitable Association was also registered at this secretariat some time ago.

In the spirit of the standpoints and assessments adopted by the SFRY Presidency at its recent meeting at Ohrid, the Kosovo Assembly, at its meeting on 7-8 November, issued its stands on overcoming the crisis in Yugoslavia, a common denominator of which, expressed in a communique, is that no negotiations about the future of Yugoslavia can take place without Kosovo or without the Albanians and their political declaration.

For the Future of Yugoslavia—After Free Elections

Embarking from definite stands and assessments, the Kosovo Presidency once again pointed out the inevitable need to create in Kosovo the necessary conditions and atmosphere for constructive and democratic dialogue and for the operation of all the institutions of the system, with the aim of solving as soon as possible the dire situation in Kosovo and involving Kosovo equally in debate and activity concerning the country's future constitutional settlement.

Kosovo, for adequate reasons, was not able to join the talks conducted so far in connection with deciding future relations in Yugoslavia and its constitutional order. Moreover, Kosovo has been left to the side in the concepts offered so far. The Presidency states that the concepts which have been offered and any other possible similar concepts of the future of Yugoslavia and each of

its parts, including Kosovo, which do not consider the interests of all, are unacceptable.

The Presidency considers that even in Kosovo, as in all parts of the country, conditions must first be created to introduce free and democratic multiparty elections and parliaments, so that the country's future settlement may then be tackled.

In the situation in which the authorities and other institutions of Kosovo are blockaded, it has become impossible to authoritatively define standpoints, opinions, and proposals about present and future relations in Yugoslavia. This makes it vital to ensure these organs' normal work and operation. In the Presidency's view, it is still impossible to ensure this without the involvement of the Kosovo Assembly and its other organs, without whose participation, bearing in mind the SFRY Constitution which is still in force and which must be consistently respected, no act of a constitutional nature which may be approved by the SFRY Assembly is legitimate.

Thus, under current circumstances, neither the Kosovo Presidency nor the delegation and delegates from Kosovo to the SFRY Assembly have any foundation on which they may rely in the process of drafting standpoints, comments, and opinions.

Current circumstances in Kosovo have placed the opportunities for dialogue in extreme peril, as well as the implementation of the incipient economic reform and general democratization. Our continual determined demands that the blockade of these processes should be lifted have had no effect so far. Such a situation also places in doubt the organization of free and democratic multiparty elections in this part of the country, a fact which shows that the blockade must be lifted quickly, so that legal organs and institutions may resume their work and normal functions, dialogue may begin, and Pristina Radio and Television's Albanian-language programs and the newspaper RILINDJA may appear again. The restoration of Kosovo's legal organs is a vital step toward creating conditions for dialogue and solving the crisis, including the constitutional crisis, for normal and legitimate work, for the correction of the gross distortions in the policy of national equality, and normalizing the general situation in Kosovo, something which is also important for the country as a whole.

Furthermore, it is vital to secure conditions for dialogue in Kosovo with the equal participation of the Albanians, in the same way as members of all nationalities, because the former, under existing circumstances, particularly since the measures taken by the Assembly and other organs of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, have no influence of any kind on the organs of the state, the administration, the judiciary, the economy, or in health and other economic and social activities.

Solving the dramatic situation and the problems of Kosovo depends directly on the determination and commitment of the federal organs and the consistent observation of the relations laid down in the SFRY Constitution and in federal laws. For this reason, we consider that the federal organs and the republican organs of the SR of Serbia must take, as soon as possible, those steps which will mark a turning point in events so far and will move toward a normalization of the situation, thus demonstrating in practice their readiness for a clear and democratic programmed solution of problems and an emergence from the dire situation in which this part of our country now finds itself.

The Kosovo Presidency proposes to the SFRY Presidency that it should specially consider and ensure the return to work of the Kosovo Assembly, its Executive Council, and all its other organs before the next meeting of the SFRY Assembly, so that they may function without hindrance and exercise their rights and duties defined by the Constitution.

The Kosovo Presidency believes and expects, on the basis of the assessments and stands of the SFRY Presidency, that the competent organs, primarily the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, and other federal bodies responsible for the situation in certain fields, will undertake as soon as possible the relevant measures for the consistent enforcement of the SFRY Constitution and the federal laws, which will pave the way for the establishment of constitutionality in Kosovo, as has also been emphasized by the group of delegates from Kosovo to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly when they proposed the approval of a special resolution on Kosovo, the Kosovo Presidency's communique concludes.

The demands that have been regularly emphasized for two or three months for an early as possible restoration of the Kosovo Assembly, the Kosovo Executive Council, Pristina Radio and Television, and RILINDJA were also repeated at the start of the DSK's regular news conference held on Friday, 9 November. As DSK Chairman Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, these demands are not just made for their own sake, but to show how vital it is to improve the situation in Kosovo. These demands, he said, are also a precondition for a return to normal life in Kosovo and for free elections.

We demand, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, an end to the criminal prosecution of delegates to the Kosovo Assembly and the earliest possible release from detention of the two members of the Kosovo Executive Council.

The DSK chairman said that we will hold the DSK Assembly as soon as possible, as soon as we have secured conditions for holding it. We will give both the DSK membership and the public timely notice of this.

At the news conference, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova commented on the decision made a few days ago by the

Serbian Assembly's Executive Council regarding a supposed kind of amnesty of imprisoned Albanians in Kosovo, and said that for us it is merely a quasi-amnesty, because it only concerns the reduction of sentences. Rugova said that it would be much better to stop this repression in Kosovo and not to imprison people for no reason. This is perhaps a kind of preelectoral ploy on the part of the ruling party, but can only be understood as a piece of judicial demagogy.

We also demand that Albanian schools be left in peace, because it was not the Albanians who created segregated classes, as we have heard in recent days. This was done by the current authorities in Kosovo and the Serbian state, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, later observing that the repressions in Kosovo are continuing, and cases of dismissals from work and detention for so-called "informative discussions" are still occurring (as in the case of Idriz Gervalla, chairman of the DSK branch in Koder e Trimave) ["Hill of the Brave," name adopted by the Kosovo Alternative for the Pristina suburb of Vranjevac]. Rugova said that we demand an immediate end to this, and the reinstatement of all suspended Albanian workers in their jobs.

At this time of elections, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova then said, the DSK is vitally interested in free elections in Kosovo also, but there is still no sign of them.

We ask our members and the people to still remain patient until we find a political and democratic solution for Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said, concluding his comments.

The DSK Was and Remains in Favor of Dialogue

The first question was to whether the postponement of the DSK Assembly had any connection with Ante Markovic's report to be presented to the SFRY Assembly on 15 November. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that the failure to hold the assembly had nothing to do with Markovic's report. We postponed our assembly merely because of the question of where to hold it.

Another question was: How do you comment on the stand of the Alliance of Reform Forces in Serbia, which offers dialogue with the Kosovo Alternative?

We have always been in favor of dialogue, Rugova said, but it has unfortunately been lacking so far. We support this, we will analyze what opportunities we possess and our standpoints on this question.

A further question concerned whether there was any truth in the public denial of the Boro and Ramiz Center that they had refused to allow the DSK to hold its assembly in their hall. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that he could not wait until the last day and the last moment before obtaining permission for the premises where the assembly is to be held, because, as he said, we did not wish to put the large number of delegates at risk of having fresh confrontations with the police. If the Boro and Ramiz Center wants to operate according to the market economy, our accounts are in the clear, Rugova said, because we paid for the hall in advance and there was no need for political or police interference.

DSK Secretary Jusuf Buxhovi said that the Boro and Ramiz Center's statement was full of untruths. They continually demanded different documents from us, and tried to prolong the application process on purpose. We finally said that the final date by which we must receive a positive or negative answer must be 6 November, and on this day they told us again, "Come tomorrow." We did not dare to place the assembly in further danger, so we decided to postpone it. Another fact which is important, Buxhovi said, is that the hall in which we were interested and which holds more than 1,000 people had earlier been allocated for a Pristina-Vellazerimi basketball match.

Mechanism for the Creation of Disinformation

Professor Dr. Fehmi Agani, DSK Presidency member, mentioned certain journalists' misinterpretations of the DSK's most recent news conference, and said that someone is purposely warning the people that something will supposedly happen on 28 November [Albanian national day]. We will not fall for this provocation and trick concocted by somebody else, Professor Agani said.

Another question posed to the DSK chairman was what he thought about the statement of the president of the Serbian Assembly's Electoral Commission, according to which the DSK would not be allowed to take part in the elections in Serbia. Do you think that the elections in Serbia will be in order if more than 1 million Albanian voters are excluded from them? Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that Serbia told us when we registered as a federal party that we would have no right to take part in the Serbian elections, although no law gives them the right to do this. We will decide in the next few days whether we will take part in the elections or not. They have stated their view, and we have still not examined this issue.

As for the question of whether the elections in Serbia can be considered in order if the Albanians do not take part, let them think about that themselves, Rugova said.

Professor Agani then presented strange data about the Kosovo electoral districts planned and drawn up in Serbia and about the people who will administer them. In Kosovo, he said, 22 constituencies have been planned. Each commission in each constituency has a chairman and a deputy chairman, a secretary and a deputy secretary, and three members and three deputy members. For the 22 constituency chairmen, Serbia has planned 19 Serbs and three members of other nationalities. Of the deputy chairmen, 17 are Serbs, and of the secretaries, 18 are Serbs. This situation is reflected among the other members of the commissions, and it is thus clear how Serbia has planned the elections in Kosovo. This requires no comment, Professor Agani said.

Meanwhile, there is no change in other areas of Kosovo life. The temporary management of the "Elektroekonomia" enterprise decided to continue the suspension of work at the Belacevac open-cast mine for 30 more days. As is known, this management decided on this step a month ago following the total work boycott by Albanian workers who refused to accept Serbia's temporary measures in this enterprise, which, in their absence, brought work to a complete halt. The ethnic purges of the communes and the expulsions of Albanian workers from communal administration continue. After Vitina, Dragas, and Urosevac, this also happened a few days ago in the communal assemblies of Kosovo Polje and Orahovac.

Among cultural events this week, it is worth mentioning the formal symposium held in the Provincial People's Theater on the 90th anniversary of the death of Naim Frasheri [Albanian poet], which was opened by Musa Haxhiu, president of the Kosovo Academy of Arts and Sciences. The academician Rexhep Qosja gave a brilliant speech about the example of Naim and the parallels between his time and ours.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Rifts in the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] in Kosovo Continue

After the conflicts which began at the recent founding conference of the SPS in Kosovo, when deep rifts in this ethnically pure Serbian political party appeared, the wave of divisions and conflicts has continued in certain communal electoral conferences. For example, after such splits in the SPS founding conferences in Istok and Pristina, a similar atmosphere enveloped the SPS electoral conference in Obilic. At this conference, like earlier ones, there was a struggle for power among the party's members, accompanied by insults and mutual accusations, and some "personal dossiers" on some members were opened.

Meanwhile, 65 Serbian and Montenegrin workers at the "Energoinvest Equipment" Enterprise turned against their general manager Milomir Komnenovic, because of his underhanded financial dealings. According to representatives of the strike council which is demanding the application of temporary measures in this collective and the dismissal of its manager, one of these tricks was the appointment of an "expert" from Belgrade (a fireman) at this enterprise. This was really done so that the director could trade his Pristina apartment with the apartment of this "expert" from Belgrade.

Slovene Demos Proposes Plebiscite on Independence

AU1311193090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Text] At a session which they held at the Republican Territorial Defense Training Center on 9 and 10 November, behind closed doors and closed to the public, the Demos [United Opposition] coalition deputies adopted the strategy on the sovereignty of Slovenia. The first item of the document speaks about the plebiscite at which the Slovene people would state whether it supports an independent state or not. Here is a report by Dragoslav Kosaric:

[Kosaric] The Demos coalition which—before it came to power—so often criticized the practice of closed sessions of the then ruling circles in Slovenia, now after multiparty and democratic elections, makes a decision which is important for Slovenia's and Yugoslavia's in Poljce, behind closed doors and closed to public.

It is said in a short announcement that a plebiscite, at which a decision about Slovenia's independence will be made, should be held on 23 December.

However, we have learned that the proposal of the strategy on Slovenia's secession from Yugoslavia has seven points, and the most important of them is the first one, which concerns the plebiscite. This document also envisages negotiations with the federal organs and the other republics, the adoption of a new Slovene constitution, an action to be carried out with a view to having the new state of Slovenia be internationally recognized. According to this document, elections in Slovenia are envisaged for the spring of 1992.

An objective question should be asked here: Why is the ruling coalition in such a hurry, when his known that the provisions of the Slovene Constitution that have already been adopted make secession possible?

True, opinion polls show that Demos' reputation is falling, something that obviously caused a shock in the coalition which must be cured by initiating resolute questions. A month ago, Demos reacted harshly to an almost identical proposal by the socialists, and refused to accept the demand to submit the proposal to the Assembly. However, the stand adopted in Poljce was that the Slovene Assembly should discuss this on 21 November.

Some important Demos politicians were not delighted by this initiative. And Prime Minister Lojze Peterle, although he is the head of the Christian Democratic Party, was not present at the adoption of these extremely important decisions.

This is why one can objectively ask whether this document is polemical regarding the present government, too, because it proposes a coalition government consisting of all political parties in the Slovene parliament. When answering our question, opposition parties expressed support for the Demos proposal, albeit adding that they do not want the date of the plebiscite to be strictly set, because it should be used when, according to them, it will have an optimum effect.

The government was assigned the task of preparing a strategy on how one can economically survive this decision and how these concrete measures for making Slovenia independent should be made operational.

In the meantime, Demos has set up its staff for conducting the plebiscite, counting on an interparty consensus. It has also remarked that with this act, the ruling coalition wants to show Yugoslavia and the world that the Slovene people do not accept the federation and that they are ready to choose between two options—confederation or full independence.

One thing is certain: Slovenia is already wading into the plebiscitary Rubicon. It is obvious that, as regards this republic, the die is cast. However, the outcome of the Yugoslav crisis will show who will become the Caesar.

Constitutional Group Discusses Plebiscite

AU1311204990 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 13 Nov 90

[Janko Saradjen report]

[Text] It seems that the Slovene political leadership has decided to accelerate preparations for the plebiscite in which Slovene citizens will decide about whether or not they want to leave the Yugoslav federation. This could be seen at the session of the republican Constitutional Commission today which was devoted to the public debate on the new Slovene Constitution. Here is a report by Janko Saradjen:

[Saradjen] It seems that the primary political question in Slovenia at the moment is the plebiscite on the independence of the state and not the adoption of the new Slovene constitution, because at its several consecutive sessions, the Constitutional Commission failed to even touch upon the essential questions concerning the new constitution.

It is known that not so long ago some Slovene politicians, such as Kucan, Peterle, and Bucar, were not enthusiastic about the hurriedness in organizing a plebiscite, which was first proposed by the socialists. However, as the situation both in Yugoslavia and the world is obviously changing suddenly, so are the decisions.

This was confirmed by Assembly President Franco Bucar at the session of the Constitutional Commission. Already at the beginning of the session, he said that plebiscite on the independence and sovereignty of the state of Slovenia should be carried out as soon as possible. Bucar also said that if the decision is delayed, the consequences for Slovenia will become more and more serious.

The (?cause) of the plebiscite is the SFRY Presidency's initiative on solving the constitutional crisis and its statement that it is impossible to solve the crisis within the framework of the existing constitution, the proposal on a firm federation, the Serbian measures aimed against Slovenia, as well as Slovenia's catastrophic economic position as a consequence of the federal policies.

This decision is based on Article 337 of the Slovene Constitution which says that the Slovene Assembly may organize a referendum—a plebiscite is a synonym for this—about questions significant for the republic.

Thus, what is involved is not the question of whether a plebiscite will be held at all, but the question of its date, of the essence of matters about which people should decide, and of all the necessary preparations for Day X.

A special law should be adopted which should be prepared by the republican Legislative Commission together with the Executive Council.

Dr. Bucar also said that a negative outcome of the plebiscite would mean a catastrophe for Slovenia's present and former policy. This is why an accord of all (?sides) is necessary for such a decision.

There are a number of open questions about the plebiscite: whether a two-thirds majority or a simple majority is needed for the decision on independence and leaving the federation, who will have the right to decide, how to avoid polarization among the people, whether to include in the referendum the question of further connections in the region, how to carry out the separation from the federation, and views on property and debts. All these and many other questions will be a serious task for the republican Executive Council.

In the opinion of the majority of the members of the republican Constitutional Commission, those questions that still have not been solved do not have to delay the decision on the plebiscite, but will be given to the republican Assembly to solve.

Although the most frequently mentioned date for the plebiscite was 23 December, this decision is still not final and more will probably be known after next week's session of the Slovene Assembly.

Slovene Defense Official Wants Talks With JNA

AU1511084590 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Oct 90 p 2

[Branko Soban report: "Slovenia Would Perhaps Make Concessions if the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Would Start Holding Talks"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 29 Oct—"The decision to freeze the provisions of the constitutional laws which pertain to some issues in the sphere of national defense in Slovenia can be adopted by the Assembly alone, and nobody else. This is why a freeze on these provisions was really not in question, although this could be interpreted from the report on the news conference held on Friday [26 October]." This is what Jelko Kacin, deputy republican secretary for national defense, said today in a statement for DELO.

Two different things, albeit with a similar content, were discussed at the Friday news conference. What was involved was a letter Lojze Peterle sent to Ante Markovic concerning Slovene recruits (the Slovene and federal governments have been discussing this topic and exchanging messages about it for some time) and the other thing was a joint letter the Slovene and Croatian governments sent to the president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] in which the two governments suggest that the FEC, in agreement with the SFRY Presidency, should organize first political and then expert talks about possible different solutions to the question of the army in Yugoslavia and, of course, in the two republics, as well.

As Jelko Kacin said, the only thing Slovenia is prepared to postpone is the possibility to serve the army in the units of the Slovene territorial defense and militia (young men who would not be able to stay in Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] units in Slovenia should be sent there), but only under the condition that the JNA agrees to start a dialogue on the problem of Slovene recruits. Namely, there has been no such readiness to date. Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, at least it seems, has been ignoring the Slovene Assembly's decisions and members of the republican Secretariat for National Defense. "This is in fact the only change that we would be ready to make at this moment. Everything else will remain as it is written down in the Assembly decisions and constitutional law," Jelko Kacin said. [passage omitted]

Muslim Leader Interviewed on Bosnian Elections

AU1411143990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 90 p 3

[E. Demirovic report on interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Party of Democratic Action; place and date not given: "Different Winds for Yugoslavia's Sails"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Demirovic] With the elections approaching, there is more and more talk of a federation in the ranks of the Party of Democratic Action.

[Izetbegovic] I am neither for a confederal or a federal Yugoslavia. I am in favor of a democratic Yugoslavia, because the first conditions for its survival are freedom and democracy. Things are being confused in Bosnia and somebody has skillfully tricked people into quarreling about the confederation-federation issue at a time when the most crucial question for the Yugoslav peoples is being resolved—will there be democracy. If this country were democratic and free, nobody would raise the dilemma about the country's setup with so much vehement, drama, and panic.

[Demirovic] Why in your opinion did this "skillful tricking" happen?

[Izetbegovic) What is happening, in fact, is that somebody wants to retain bolshevism under the pretext of the "federation-confederation" issue. Very few people know what these terms mean and many would struggle to define them if asked to do so. [passage omitted]

[Demirovic] How do you rate the chances of national parties in the Bosnia-Hercegovina elections?

[Izetbegovic] I think that the elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina will be won by national parties, with 60 percent of the vote. At least. Some optimists in our party think that the Party of Democratic Action will win 40 percent, although I think that 35 percent is more realistic. Our victory would be reflected in the fact that we would be the strongest party, a dominant force without which one could not form a government—although by itself it would not be able to form a government. We would be the dominant party which would influence the course of events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and via it, in Yugoslavia. My assessment is based on the fact that the Muslims are the most numerous people, based upon the size of our rallies and the membership in the Party of Democratic Action.

[Demirovic] What kind of coalition would "appeal" to you most?

[Izetbegovic] Different coalitions are possible. A coalition with a small party is also possible, although it would be best to work with a strong party. I still do not know who that will be. The party which the Party of Democratic Action is going to cooperate with must unreservedly support the integrity and statehood of Bosnia-Hercegovina and must be a democratic party. As regards the second condition, we are still unsure in the case of communists. I am convinced that a Muslim-Serbian-Croat coalition would be welcome. It is very likely that something else may happen. I think that these three parties will ensure stability in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Opposition Threatens To Boycott Elections

AU1411155390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 90 p 3

[D. Bisenic report: "Control or Boycott"]

[Text] Sarajevo—"Authorized party representatives do not have the right to inspect ballot papers and to attend the counting of ballots."

This sentence contained in the rules for the work of electoral committees was used at a joint news conference by the leaders of the Party of Democratic Action, the Serbian Democratic Party, and the Croatian Democratic Community to accuse the authorities of preparing to rig the elections as opposition party representatives would have the status of "passive" observers. The leaders of opposition parties demanded that their representatives be enabled to have an insight in all election activities. They themselves would guarantee the secrecy of the elections.

If, however, these demands were not met, we will inform the people about it and invite them to boycott the elections.

"We may also ask people to hold demonstrations," Alija Izetbegovic said.

The other objection of the leaders of opposition parties referred to the voters being listed on the general register. According to Izetbegovic, as many as 4,500 people were not entered in the register list in Novi Grad. During the news conference the news arrived that in the commune of Ilidza some 3,000 people are still waiting to be entered on the register.

Because of the seriousness of the intentions expressed by the leaders of the national bloc, Mirko Boskovic, member of the republican Electoral Commission came later to the news conference to answer the question of opposition parties. After he had answered their questions, Boskovic promised that at its first meeting the commission will do its best concerning the two objections.

Answering the question whether there will be a preelection coalition of national parties, Izetbegovic said that such an idea did not exist. However, the leaders of these parties explained their stand. "They accuse us of causing quarrels among peoples, of wanting a war," Stjepan Kljujic said, and Alija Izetbegovic added that "national parties are not a danger, but a way out for Bosnia-Hercegovina." "Those" who are in power, according to the assessment of these parties, are "the reformists" and communists. According to Radovan Karadzic, "they" would like the Serbian Democratic Party to win less than 16 percent of the vote and thus, because of the law and national quota, render this party, an illegitimate representative of the Serbian people.